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The American Historical Review

THE ASSOCIATION AT PROVIDENCE

THE fifty-first annual meeting of the American Historical Association, held at Providence on December 29, 30, and 31, was by far the largest in the history of the organization. The registration of 956 exceeded the previous record figure by 135. Thirty-seven states and the District of Columbia, Canada, Great Britain, and Germany were represented. One hundred and twenty-two names appeared on the program. There were eighty-two papers and addresses, not including remarks of sessional chairmen or comments made in the discussions. Meeting concurrently with the Association were ten other societies: the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, the Conference of State and Local Historical Societies, the Agricultural History Society, the American Society of Church History, the American Catholic Historical Association, the History of Science Society, the Bibliographical Society of America, the Mediaeval Academy of America, the National Council for the Social Studies, and the Business Historical Society. At several of the sessions at the Providence Biltmore Hotel, the headquarters of the Association, and most noticeably at the Annual Dinner, the unexpectedly large numbers in attendance overtaxed the seating facilities, but the inevitable inconvenience was minimized by the efficiency of the committee on local arrangements and its resourceful executive secretary, Professor Robert H. George. The old evil of overlong papers was still in evidence to some extent. In a few instances the writer's *cacoëthes scribendi* not merely fatigued his audience but left little or no time for discussion.

Social activities were not so prominent as at some previous meetings, though local hospitality was generous. In the evening of the first day a smoker was tendered to members of the visiting societies by friends of Brown University, and on the second day, when the sessions were held on the Brown campus, the university was host at a complimentary luncheon, and the Rhode Island School of Design gave a tea. As usual at annual meetings, breakfasts afforded opportunity for gatherings of

former graduate students of particular universities and for other group meetings.

The program was not built up around any central theme or unifying conception, and the proceedings conformed to no pattern. They reflected, on the contrary, the variety of interests and the diversity in points of view represented in the Association and the other societies with which it held joint sessions. The papers presented dealt with subjects in social, economic, cultural, religious, educational, literary, scientific, political, constitutional, diplomatic, and military history, and they ranged chronologically from ancient Athens to the present, with "prehistory" represented by the Mayas. The history of the arts, other than literature, did not, indeed, receive consideration, a fact that gave emphasis to a remark of Professor Carlton Hayes at the conference on Modern European History to the effect that trained historians have not paid sufficient attention to the arts, the history of which has been written, in consequence, without integration with the general cultural milieu in which they existed. There were sessions devoted to historiography, bibliography, and the position of history in the new social studies curriculum in the high schools. At a luncheon conference of archivists Mr. Julian P. Boyd gave an account of recent impressive achievements in the administration and survey of archives in the United States, with special reference to the activities of the Survey of Federal Archives and the Survey of State and Local Historical Records. After the luncheon a new Society of American Archivists was organized; it is described briefly in the Historical News section of this issue. Another luncheon conference was devoted to a discussion of problems of special concern to editors of historical publications. The philosophy of history was not among the topics selected for consideration, but at some of the sessions comments and reflections on the purposes of historical study and teaching could be gleaned by the attentive listener, and the old though never exhausted question of historical causation made appearances in papers on "The Causes of the French Revolution Again" and "America's Entry into the World War: Twenty Years of Interpretation". Perhaps the historical latitudinarianism exhibited at the meeting found no more striking illustration than the participation in the proceedings of two men whose conceptions of the functions of history are so completely at variance as those of Charles H. McIlwain and Harold Rugg.

More than seven hundred persons attended the Annual Dinner of

the Association, which was held in the Ball Room of the Biltmore. Unavoidable delay in the service and in beginning the post-prandial proceedings was borne with patience and good nature. The toastmaster, Dr. Dixon Ryan Fox, was in his best after-dinner form, and his humorous thrusts, greeted by rounds of applause, put everybody in high spirits. Speaking for the *American Historical Review,* the Managing Editor, Professor Robert L. Schuyler, expressed appreciation of the co-operation he had received from officers and members of the Association. The *Review,* being the journal of a general, non-specialized historical organization, ought to reflect, he thought, the far-ranging interests of its members. It should continue to publish articles of detailed research if they were significant contributions to historical knowledge and were of such character that they would appear more appropriately in its pages than in those of the more specialized historical magazines. He suggested the desirability, however, of more articles on subjects of interest to historians in general, especially surveys of historical progress in some particular field of history which would be of interest to scholars working in other fields.

Dr. Dumas Malone, editor of the *Dictionary of American Biography,* commented upon that great enterprise as "An Adventure in Co-operation". With the publication of the twentieth volume, on December 10, the work had just been completed after more than ten years' labor. More than two thousand persons, representing every state in the Union and every important branch of scholarship, co-operated in its production. Special tribute, however, was due to historians, since the direction of the work had been in the hands of historians, the methods used were historical, and the volumes consist of "thousands of bits of history, illustrating the unity and the extraordinary diversity of American life". The editor spoke briefly of the unusual efforts that had been made to secure accuracy of statement, adequacy of treatment, and good literary form. Serious faults in form, he said, are due to faults in thought; there would be better writing if there were clearer thinking. He urged that fuller recognition be given by historians, and by all scholars, to the supreme importance of persons; it would have a humanizing and vitalizing influence on historical scholarship. For belief in abstract individualism there should be substituted a warmer faith—in the importance of persons.

Apart from the dinner there were only two sessions that were not in competition with others for the interest of members of the Associa-

tion, and at these attendance was naturally largest. One of them was the evening session at which the president of the Association, Professor Charles H. McIlwain, delivered an address on "The Historian's Part in a Changing World", a confession of faith in the ideal of objectivity and detachment from the preconceptions of the present in the study and writing of history. This was published in our last number and need not be commented upon here. At the close of the presidential address a volume of essays by Professor McIlwain's former graduate students at Harvard and Radcliffe was presented to him by Professor Carl Wittke. It is entitled *Essays in History and Political Theory in Honor of Charles Howard McIlwain* and has been published by the Harvard University Press.

The other general session was devoted to "An Appraisal of the 'History of American Life' Series". In the critical evaluation of this collaborative historical enterprise, edited by Arthur M. Schlesinger and Dixon Ryan Fox, ten volumes of which have appeared, the viewpoints of political history, literary history, and social history were ably represented by Professor Roy F. Nichols, Mr. Bernard DeVoto, editor of the *Saturday Review of Literature,* and Professor John A. Krout, respectively. Distinguishing between two types of political historian, those interested in the development of political machinery and those concerned with the varying political behavior of the masses in a democratic society, Mr. Nichols gave it as his opinion that the series offers little of immediate value to the former but that it is distinctly useful to the latter, affording abundant evidence of the many and various social desires and activities that exert pressure upon the plastic form of democracy. He found the principal defect of the work to be the omission of any consistent discussion of political behavior as a form of social activity, a limitation arbitrarily set by those who planned the series.

Mr. DeVoto, speaking as a literary historian, pronounced the volumes of the work now in print to be, for the student of literature, "so far superior to all other general histories that, with them, American history is acceptably written for the first time". The social historian, in his view, is a much more reliable and satisfactory guide for the student of literature than is the political or the economic historian. Literature, however, is one of the sources of social history, and the greater part of Mr. DeVoto's paper was devoted to critical comment on the use made of American literaure in two volumes in the series, Carl Russell Fish's *The Rise of the Common Man* and Allan Nevins's *The Emergence of*

Modern America, the criticism being applicable in varying degree, he said, to the series as a whole. His indictment of the former volume was severe. If this is to be regarded as justified, the author was guilty, in his handling of literature, of lack of insight, superficiality, and ignorance. For Professor Nevins's use of literature the critic had considerable praise, though here, too, shortcomings were specified. Generalizing from this series Mr. DeVoto concluded that the social historian (1) sometimes lacks the courage of his principles and fails to follow literature far enough, (2) tends to study literature quantitatively, the worst way in which to study it, (3) tends to treat literature in a watertight compartment, as an obligatory chapter in his book but not as an interrelation among many other forces that he studies, (4) tends to concentrate on literature explicitly sociological, thus missing much that is of first-rate importance to history, (5) tends to prefer bad literature to good literature, (6) too often resorts to the history of literature to the neglect of literature itself, and (7) has been badly informed about the historians of literature and too often relies on what the worst ones say.

Mr. Krout reminded his hearers that the social historian used to be regarded as the custodian of a residuum left over after the political and diplomatic and economic and other varieties of historian and taken what they needed. In his desire to avoid gleaning in well-harvested fields, the social historian sometimes gave the impression of focusing his attention on seemingly disjointed and inconsequential facts. There arose a demand for a synthesis that would relate his findings to the conclusions of historical specialists who had already found centers for their interests, and such a synthesis is the primary objective of the "History of American Life". Professor Krout acquitted the editors of any desire to have facts arranged in conformity with a particular interpretation of social development, nor, he thought, did the authors yield to that present-mindedness which seeks to reduce complexity to simplicity and confusion to order. "None of the authors has approached his particular segment of time with a determination to find ideas and events which are peculiarly significant for the present." In the view of this judicious critic the most distinctive contribution which the series has made to an understanding of our social history is in throwing light upon the processes subsumed under the rubric, "the transit of civilization". As to the *how* and *why* of these processes many questions might be raised, he said, that are only partially considered in these volumes. As inadequacies he spoke of the insufficient discussion of the geographic

basis of sectionalism and of the social consequences of a continuing adaptation to the physical environment, the lack of any satisfactory portrayal of the merchant-capitalist, who flourished before the advent of industrial plutocracy, and of the small farmer in the Northern states before the Civil War, and the failure to probe deeply enough into the European backgrounds of the foreigners who came to this country and contributed to its material and intellectual development. In the main the authors, in Mr. Krout's judgment, have used the monographic literature and the primary sources with discrimination, though Miss Tarbell in her volume on the period 1878-1898, recently published, is an exception.

Under the caption Hispanic American History a session was devoted to the Mayas. Dr. Alfred V. Kidder, who has flown over the jungles of Yucatan with Colonel Lindbergh, described the work of the Carnegie Institution in revealing the splendor and mystery of the ancient Maya civilization. In "A Program for Maya Research" he deprecated overemphasis on the "treasure-hunting" motive in archaeology, which causes sponsors of archaeological expeditions and even directors of museums to demand sensational finds, thus diverting archaeologists from their proper business, "which is the study of the long slow growth of human culture and the formulation of those problems of the development of society whose solution is, in the last analysis, the common aim of both anthropology and history". Professor Alfred M. Tozzer, taking as his theme "Prehistory in Middle America", warned against exaggeration of the historical possibilities of archaeology. "Painfully meager", he declared, "are the data of history derived from the imperishable archives excavated by the shovels of the archaeologist." It is only the "charlatans of archaeology" who speak with confidence on the ancient history of the New World. He enumerated a number of hopeful present-day trends in the archaeology of Middle America and closed with an expression of confidence in its future. Professor Robert Redfield gave a vivid description of recent ethnological work in Yucatan in a paper which he entitled "The Second Epilogue to Maya History". Maya culture, he said, was radically altered by conqueror and missionary, but it was not obliterated. "Thousands of people in Yucatan continue today to speak, farm, build houses, and hold various beliefs in ways learned, through their parents and grandparents, from Indians who were there before the Conquest. On the other hand, the development of the McCormick reaper and binder, with the resulting demand for Yucatecan

sisal fiber, and the discovery by an American confectioner and businessman that people would buy a chewing gum made of Yucatecan chicle, are, in this extended sense, events in Maya history."

Four papers were read at the session on Ancient History. Dr. Sterling Dow, on the basis of recent archaeological discoveries and inferences, described "Athenian Allotment Machines", illustrating his exposition with slides. The Athenian constitution was fantastically elaborate, but the machine by which elections and assignments of duties were made—allotment was of the essence of the constitution—has proved to be simple. In "Common Denominators in the Greek Colonization of Sicily and the English Colonization of North America" Professor Vincent Scramuzza drew a number of parallels between the two expansion movements. Dr. Eva Matthews Sanford presented "Contrasting Views of the Roman Empire from Nero to Marcus Aurelius". From extant writings of the period she examined opinion on such subjects as the cause of the rise of Rome, its greatness and the belief in its eternity, the Roman peace, and the fall of the empire. The strongest feeling against Rome, she said, is to be found in Jewish writings associated with contemporary revolts and in Tacitus's descriptions of barbarian insurrections; the most fulsome praise occurs among Eastern writers who were trying to prevent revolts. The Romans themselves were often as severe critics of Rome as were the provincials. Professor W. S. Ferguson's paper on "The Salaminians of Sunium and the Heptaphylae" was based on a study of two inscriptions discovered last spring in the course of excavations in the market place of ancient Athens conducted by the American Agora Commission. After specifying a number of particulars in which our knowledge of things Athenian is enlarged, the writer went on to examine, in the new light thrown by these records on the history, organization, and functions of one of the Attic clans (called the Salaminians), the realities of gentile activity in politics and religion. The audience was especially edified by Professor Ferguson's recipe for the punch drunk by the Salaminians at their festal gatherings and his account of compounding it for the benefit of friends in Cambridge, all of whom consumed it without obvious ill effects, though it was noted that they did not ask for second glasses.

The session on Medieval History was historiographical. It was concerned with the writings of two eminent living medievalists, Charles Petit-Dutaillis and G. G. Coulton. Professor Sidney R. Packard examined and appraised sympathetically the former's work as reviewer,

monographer, and synthesizer. His statement that the impressive thing about Petit-Dutaillis's reviews is that they were all based upon careful reading of the books in question was no doubt intended ironically, as likewise his cautious observation that "good critical reviews apparently come only from persons competent to write them". He addressed to this journal in particular some specific recommendations for reform in reviewing, which have merit and were welcomed by the editorial office, though they suggest a trace of austere aloofness from actuality on the critic's part. The lesson drawn from the neglect that befell some of Petit-Dutaillis's most original and significant monographic writing was that "new interpretations of great events, even though based upon and perhaps inevitably accompanied by patient and exact research, must go into the essay form and find a place in a prominent periodical", that they ought not to be buried in scholarly monographs "which even scholars do not read".

In a paper on the work of Dr. Coulton Professor A. H. Sweet stressed the debt which historians owe him for gathering together a great mass of scattered materials for an understanding of the religious and social life of the Middle Ages. The writer felt, however, that Dr. Coulton had been over-anxious to refute the apologists of the Middle Ages, especially of the church and monasticism, and that in this preoccupation he had been led to throw into high relief the less attractive aspects of medieval life. He questioned, also, whether emphasis of the commonplace offers the basis for a just estimate of the civilization of any age, arguing that the true significance of a period lies in its best products. That Dr. Coulton is cognizant of the finer aspects of medieval life is shown by occasional appreciative flashes, but the ensemble of his picture is somber. Professor F. J. Foakes Jackson, who was to have led the discussion, was unable to be present, but a letter from him was read in which he paid tribute to Dr. Coulton as a friend and former colleague and referred to certain phases of the religious life of the Middle Ages. The discussion was continued by Professor Austin P. Evans, who expressed himself as in substantial agreement with Mr. Sweet but raised the question whether Dr. Coulton weighted his sources adequately. It was his impression that illustrative material was sometimes torn from its context, without due consideration of the attitude of the author from whom it was taken or of his competence as a witness.

Professor Frederick Maurice Powicke's address at the dinner of the Medieval Academy, entitled "Why a Medievalist feels at Home in

America", was shot through with mellow humor and urbane whimsey. The comparison he drew between big business and the medieval church may have come as something of a surprise to many of his hearers, for the catholicity of American capitalism is not its best-known feature. The whole address, indeed, could be interpreted as a piece of genial rationalization. Perhaps Mr. Powicke betrayed the real reason why he feels at home in America when he said "the medievalist at bottom is an ordinary human being who responds to kindness and friendliness". This particular medievalist is emphatically a human being of that kind.

"The Conflict between Princes and Estates in the Period of the Thirty Years' War" was the subject of a paper by Professor Carl J. Friedrich at a session on The Thirty Years' War. He agreed with those who had looked upon the war as the turning point in this conflict, for it was then, he thought, that the earlier dualism of princes and estates received its death blow. "Henceforward there were no longer two central authorities, but only one, the monarchy". He saw some parallel between what happened then in central Europe and what is happening there now. In "Propaganda and Public Opinion during the Thirty Years' War" Professor Elmer A. Beller distinguished between three types of propaganda—official, semi-official, and private. In a chronological review he gave examples of each type, his material being taken from pamphlets, broadsides, ballads, and caricatures.

The session on English History was concerned with the seventeenth century. "The Country Party from Pym to Locke" was the subject of a paper in which Professor Caroline Robbins found the origin of that party in the Cromwellian circle during the years of the interregnum, rather than in the Presbyterian groups of the civil war period. It is possible to trace during the first decade of the Restoration era the activities of some twenty-five or thirty members of parliament who seem to have been for the most part former Cromwellians and who now voted pretty consistently against extension of royal power and discriminations against Protestant dissenters. In the following decade the opposition, under Shaftesbury, increased, and its organization began to be apparent. The Country party merged into the Whig group during the struggle over Exclusion and was perhaps at the height of its power in 1678.

Professor M. M. Knappen supported the view that Puritanism was neither modern nor medieval, as rival historical schools have respectively contended, but a *tertium quid,* like its contemporary, the absolute monarchy. In a paper on "The Relation of Puritanism to Liberal-

ism" he regarded the connection between the two systems as more or less indirect and accidental. Some points they had in common, but on others they were widely at variance, and it is futile to attempt to pin either the liberal or the medieval label on the Puritan movement as a whole. As a preferable designation he suggested "Protestant clericalism tempered by compromise". Puritanism, he insisted, was fundamentally a religious and moral movement, and though it had political, economic, educational, and other phases, none of these was of its essence. Certainly this is what the Puritans thought, and the student of Puritanism has no right to disregard what they thought. The justification for studying Puritanism is not that "the movement was liberal or medieval, democratic or authoritarian", but that "it represents one of the major elements in the Anglo-Saxon moral heritage".

In a critique entitled "Charles the Second: An Examination of Recent Studies and an Attempted Conclusion" Professor Clyde L. Grose attributed the recent output of laudatory biographies of Charles partly to postwar conditions, such as a new interest in leadership, a spirit of disillusionment with parliamentary institutions, and greater condonation of laxity than had prevailed in the Victorian age, and partly to the prefaces to the *Calendars of Treasury Books* for the Restoration period, which were published early in the present century. In them, he said, the editor, Dr. William A. Shaw, unwisely deserted his proper role to "broadcast striking generalizations about parliament and Charles II, from which the latter emerged almost a patriot king, while parliament, niggardly and inefficient, became the villain of the piece". Most of the recent biographers recognize their debt to Dr. Shaw. The best recent historians of the Restoration, David Ogg, Keith Feiling, and G. N. Clarke, do not share the biographers' enthusiasm for Charles and agree that he was neither a great nor a good king. After considering him in a six-fold character—as head of the state, head of the church, promoter of the navy, friend of science, leader of court and society, and finally as the "Great Lover"—Mr. Grose reached substantially the same conclusion, saying: "The convincing biographer who would portray Charles as a great and good king must have consummate literary skill and generous blindness to facts." The paper contained many witty sallies.

The Program Committee did well to devote a session to the Old Regime, which deserves study in and for itself and not merely as the background of the French Revolution. This point was made by Pro-

fessor Penfield Robert in a paper entitled "How Real is the Distinction between Noblesse d'Épée and Noblesse de Robe?" To view the Old Regime, or any age for that matter, as a background is to oversimplify it, and this is precisely what Taine, Lowell, and others did. Their opinions and interpretations have not, of course, passed unscathed through the ordeal of modern historical scholarship, and Mr. Robert may have been slaying some corpses. His conclusion, at any rate, is correct, that the old distinction between nobles of the sword and nobles of the gown has been greatly overstressed, and that there must be much more investigation before the truth about the nobility of the Old Regime can be known.

In a paper on "The French *Parlements* and Judicial Review" Professor Louis Gottschalk analyzed the claims of the *parlements* of the Old Regime with regard to the review of royal legislation. He maintained that though there were some statesmen, historians, and philosophers in the eighteenth century who believed that France was a limited monarchy and that the king's decrees were subject to review by the *parlements,* there were others who contended that the *parlements* had and ought to have no powers but those granted to them by the king, except in the case of some provincial *parlements* whose prerogatives were determined by treaty or other capitulations. Moreover, the tendency of the *parlements* was to make laws as well as to interpret them, and to do so not always because of the most unselfish or judicial motives. Mr. Gottschalk closed with a brief indication of some of the similarities and differences between the development of the *parlements* and that of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Professor Crane Brinton, speaking on "The Causes of the French Revolution Again", said, in effect, that the historian might choose to work either as an artist or as a scientist. As an artist he ought not to ask such "great, booming, abstract questions as 'What caused the French Revolution?' " but content himself with the attempt to make men and women of 1789 seem real as individuals and at the same time typical of the classes to which they belonged—a sufficiently difficult task which involves the union of the particular and the general. If the historian wishes to work as a scientist, he must not, Mr. Brinton insisted, apply a cause-and-effect conception which "transfers to the complexities of human societies the simplicities of the billiard table". He must realize that the behavior of men in society involves an immense number of mutually dependent variables. Considering the Old Regime

as a society "in equilibrium" (following Pareto), the historian ought not to concern himself with the "causes" of the Revolution but should try to describe French society "in terms of any workable sociological systematization—or in terms of several of them", for example, "the Marxian concept of a class, perhaps supplemented by older notions of class". In that case the problem would be to determine as well as possible how far the behavior of individuals of the different classes bolstered existing institutions and how far they undermined them, freeing one's mind from preconceptions and especially from the assumption that action which one does not happen to like was instrumental in producing the Revolution. The speaker concluded by suggesting that if we could explain why there was no political revolution in England between 1780 and 1832 we would come closer to understanding why France had one. "If we can establish the real likenesses between the two societies. . . . then the differences may well be the deciding variables in bringing about the French Revolution". He did not enter upon the deeper question of whether or not the concept of causation is properly applicable to the world of actuality.

Modern imperialism was represented by an interesting session on Europe in Africa. In an illuminating discussion of "The Labor Problem in German Kamerun" Professor Harry R. Rudin explained the need for native labor to serve the interests of traders and planters, how this was met by recruitment from the interior, and how the natives were forced to work. The death rate on the plantations was very high, chiefly because the workers came from the high plateau of the interior to the low and malarial regions of the coast, and the government sought by detailed regulations to improve labor conditions on the plantations and in trade. In the rivalry for labor of planters and traders the latter, actuated by self-interest, came to advocate liberal policies for natives, such as volunteer labor and native-owned plantations. The traders became so strongly opposed to the political influence of the planters that they favored constitutional changes in the direction of greater decentralization and the relaxation of control from home. The coming of the war, however, prevented the taking of any steps to meet their demands. The government was forced to assume increasingly the role of umpire between whites and natives, exploiters and exploited, and it can be said that in the labor question, as well as in others, German colonial rule, as exemplified in Kamerun, was developing into what is regarded as best in colonial systems. Mr. Rudin's paper elicited im-

promptu and valuable discussion on a number of points, including the recent statement made by Dr. Hjalmar Schacht that the German colonies before the war were entirely self-supporting except in military expenditures. This statement, it would appear, was incorrect. The methods used in German budgetary bookkeeping were such as to make as favorable an impression as possible, and some expenses were concealed by loans.

Professor Halford L. Hoskins's paper on "The Reshaping of British Policy in Africa, 1873-1877" was an interesting study in geographical politics. He called attention to the revolutionary effects upon British policy of the construction of the Suez Canal, which made the safety of British India dependent on the security of the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden, and said that when, in 1870, the khedive closed Somali ports on the African shore of the Gulf of Aden which had previously been free, he "unwittingly touched the Achilles heel of the whole British economic and political structure in the East". Though the ports were reopened, "the occurrences of the year 1870 patently called for an examination of the British position and a review ot the elements of sound policy relative not only to Egypt but to the whole of northern and eastern Africa". Mr. Hoskins emphasized the significance of the Anglo-Egyptian agreement of September 7, 1877, respecting the khedive's jurisdiction over the Somali coast, by which the right of policing the regions defined was ceded to Great Britain, an agreement which, in his judgment, marked "a decisive stage in the transition of British policy relative to the Arabian quarter of Africa". His statement that as far as the British Conservatives were concerned "Egypt had already become a protectorate by the end of 1877" was questioned in the discussion which followed. In reply he said that while this could not be proved literally from documentary evidence, his studies had convinced him that it was substantially true.

Two sessions were devoted to religious history, and in each of them one paper had to do with the Jews. The first of the Protestant reformers to face the question of whether or not Jews should be allowed to live among Christians was Martin Bucer of Strasbourg, who made proposals for their treatment to Philip of Hesse. These were discussed by Professor Hastings Eells in a paper on "Bucer's Plan for the Jews". Considered alone, Bucer's proposals would seem harsh to us, but when compared with the opinions of Luther and other theologians, they appear as a step toward toleration. Professor Salo W. Baron, speaking

on "The 'Jewish Question' in the Nineteenth Century", emphasized the importance of the increase of the Jewish population of Europe from less than two millions in 1800 to nearly nine millions in 1900. Under the pressure of growing numbers there was increasing dislocation in age-old Jewish settlements and economic occupations, and a stream of migration reached its climax in the generation preceding the World War, during which no less than one third of the entire European Jewish population changed its domicile from one country to another. These factors, combined with the industrial revolution, made possible the entry of large numbers of Jews into Western capitalism, and their share in its development, owing to their previous peculiar historical evolution, greatly exceeded their numerical strength in some of capitalism's most focal points. Social, political, and cultural segregation was broken down, and Jews became prominent in the intellectual life of western, and especially of central, Europe. These developments released powerful forces, sympathetic as well as antagonistic, and the problems of Jewish emancipation, assimilation, anti-Semitism, Jewish nationalism and the restoration of the Jews to Palestine engaged the attention of statemen, publicists, demagogues, and, at times, the masses.

With Catholicism, likewise, two papers were concerned. Professor Ray A. Billington dealt with "Organized Anti-Catholicism, 1830-1860", tracing it from 1830-1831, when a group of New York clergymen and laymen founded the first "No Popery" paper, *The Protestant,* and established the New York Protestant Association, members of which were instrumental in launching a national society, the American Society for Promoting the Principles of the Protestant Reformation. This was intended to make known the errors of Catholicism and to "convert the Papists to Christianity" by means of lectures and a newspaper, *The American Protestant Vindicator.* This society was partially responsible for the rise of the first effective nativistic party, the Native American party. In 1849 a number of Protestant societies united to form the American and Foreign Christian Union, which cherished the ambitious ideal of stamping out Catholicism at home and abroad! The anti-Catholic sentiment aroused by the Union contributed to the success of the Know Nothing party, but in the sectional strife that followed the Kansas Nebraska Act and the renewal of the slavery issue the Union and the party quickly lost influence. In a paper on "The Catholic Church in Modern Europe" the Rev. Dr. James A. Magner viewed the problems of his church, like those of society in general, as having arisen

to a large extent from the industrial revolution, though he rated as equally important in shaping its destinies the growth of nationalism, especially its Jacobin variety. He said: "In the endeavor to maintain its claims as a perfect society and to combat the theory that all rights owe their origin to a state grant or acknowledgment, the Church undoubtedly acted as a reactionary force against the national aspirations expressed by the French and Italian patriots, and even gave out the impression of its being opposed to democracy. Today, in the face of a state totalitarianism advocated both by the fascist and communist thinkers, the Church is giving increased emphasis to the idea of natural rights as the grant of God and has thrown itself increasingly upon the guaranties of a liberal democracy." The future of Catholicism in Europe, he said in effect, depends upon the attitude of the masses.

Professor William Thomson's contribution to the discussion of religious history was a paper on "The Present Renaissance in Islam: Its Origin and Development". He explained that Muslims ascribe the supremacy of the West and the decline of Islam to three factors: Western nationalism, Western science, and the backsliding of the Muslim peoples. The speaker dealt with his subject in the light of this analysis. In a very different field the influences of the environment on religion were illustrated by Professor Frederick L. Bronner in a paper on "The Sabbath in the West, 1800-1865". He took issue with the view that the breakdown of the "strict" or "Puritan" Sunday in the United States is to be attributed to the Civil War. Reports of missionary societies and other religious organizations, as well as accounts of travelers, testify to many kinds of Sabbath "profanation" in the West during the period 1800-1865 and in general show the effect of frontier conditions in modifying conventional usages.

As 1936 was the year of many New England tercentenaries the Program Committee arranged, appropriately, for a commemorative session, and at this it would have been indecorous to overlook the founding of Providence. The purpose of Dr. Samuel H. Brockunier in his paper on "Roger Williams and Early Rhode Island Democracy" was to see how far Williams won acceptance of his democratic ideas in Rhode Island and to examine the character of his political principles as shown in practice. In 1640 Williams was able to convert the Providence proprietors to his liberal policy of expanding town membership on an inclusive basis. From a democratic point of view, however, there was an element of inherent weakness in the New England land system

which Providence had copied. The proprietorships were self-perpetuating, and in Rhode Island the failure to establish a system of democratic control over the town lands led in the end to discrimination against the lower classes. After 1663 the expansion of the proprietorship ceased, and despite Williams's efforts the liberal impulse, generated by frontier conditions, relative economic equality, and his own leadership slowly declined. The proprietors in each of the Rhode Island towns converted the commons into private monopolies, and political power was concentrated in the hands of those who held economic power. In the speaker's opinion the union of the four towns—the earliest American experiment in federalism, he called it—owed more to Williams than to any other single man.

Taking as his theme "Puritan Education and the Founding of Harvard College", the accredited historian of Harvard, Professor Samuel E. Morison, developed the thesis that his alma mater was not originally designed to be a local college, much less a Puritan divinity school, but rather the Puritan university of the English-speaking world—a "University in Exile" for scholars excluded from the English universities by the policy of Charles I and Archbishop Laud. The founding of Harvard was the revival, and by much the same people, of an earlier scheme to establish an English college in the Netherlands. In the second and third decades of the seventeenth century, when Oxford and Cambridge were becoming increasingly unpleasant for Puritans, many English families began sending their sons to college at Edinburgh or Dublin or to the universities of the Netherlands. The latter were preferred since they had high standards, great teachers, and opportunities for advanced study in medicine, law, and theology. Yet in spite of the high intellectual standards of the Dutch universities the Puritans were not satisfied with them, for the students lived in town, under no collegiate or other discipline, and were notoriously quarrelsome and drunken. Accordingly, in 1632 Hugh Peter, pastor of the English church at Rotterdam, planned to establish there an English college under William Ames as master. This scheme was received with great enthusiasm by the city fathers of Rotterdam, where no school of higher learning existed, and the money was being raised, when the English government broke it up. As a result of diplomatic pressure brought to bear on the Dutch authorities the English Congregational churches in the Netherlands, of which there were a number, were faced with the alternative of conforming to the Dutch Reformed or to the Anglican Church. Late in

1633, accordingly, it was decided to transfer the cultural center of English Puritanism to New England, and in 1636 the Puritans founded their "University in Exile" in Massachusetts Bay. In its earliest years Harvard College was in the same hands as had lately been the Puritan cultural activities in the Low Countries. Just as it was designed to be the nucleus of a Puritan university in exile, so the little printing press set up next the College Yard in 1638, with type donated by gentlemen of Amsterdam, was planned to be the beginning of a Puritan printing establishment whence tracts could be smuggled into England in cargoes of salt fish and clapboard. The Long Parliament, however, set the English presses free, and instead of Puritan manuscripts being sent to Massachusetts for publication, clerical authors of New England had their works printed in England. Within a few years the Roundheads had their will of the English universities—so far as any group of reformers has ever been able to control those highly resistant institutions—and there was no point in sending lads three thousand miles away for a Puritan education. Yet while the war lasted a fair number of English boys, as well as Puritans from Bermuda, Virginia, and Maryland, were sent to Harvard. Edward Johnson, the author of the *Wonder-Working Providence,* complained that Englishmen were sending "their most exorbitant children" to Harvard as "a place certainly more free from temptations to lewdness" than Oxford or Cambridge, which latter observation was certainly true. After about 1650 no more "exorbitant" or other children came from England, and when Puritans were again excluded from the English universities by the test oaths of Charles II's reign, the dissenters set up academies of their own in England. Harvard declined from a busy and active institution of fifty or sixty students, representing Puritans of the English Empire, to a local college with some fifteen or twenty students in residence. And it was not until the presidency of Increase Mather, at the turn of the century, that Harvard recovered the numbers and standing of the days when she had been the Puritans' "University in Exile". It was evident that Professor Morison's original and brilliant paper was highly appreciated by his large audience.

Another paper presented at the commemorative session was entitled "Problems in Anglo-American Cultural History in the latter Seventeenth Century". The writer, Dr. Fulmer Mood, referred to the ferment in ideas in England during the Interregnum and the reforms advocated by leaders and would-be leaders in the realms of politics,

religion, society, education, and law. The first problem would be to trace the history of these forward-looking ideas in the period of the Restoration, the second to show how they crossed the ocean to the colonial settlements already established as well as to those in process of formation. The writer confined himself to showing how particular individuals played parts in this intellectual movement.

The English Continental Colonies in the Mid-Eighteenth Century was the subject of a joint session of the Association and the Bibliographical Society of America. Professor Carl Bridenbaugh read a paper on "Urban America: Its Physical Beginnings, 1625-1742", the conclusion of which was that "in the first hundred years of their existence the five largest American towns developed a physiognomy that was distinctly urban; and . . . by 1740 these five communities had attained a physical maturity closely paralleling that of the larger urban communities of the Mother Country". Professor Beverly McAnear discussed "The Problem of a Union of the English North American Colonies, 1745-1755", and Dr. Lawrence C. Wroth discoursed thoughtfully on what he called "The Bibliographical Way". Mr. Wroth's thesis was that historians have made insufficient use of the data offered by bibliographical science, which can do much more than supply them with lists of books on their subjects. The number of editions of a given pamphlet, for example, and the places and dates of its publication, may be matters of prime importance for history. He pointed out that the outstanding contribution in recent years to knowledge of the Salem witchcraft trials was made in "the bibliographical way" by Thomas J. Holmes in his *Bibliography of Increase Mather.* At another session, which was devoted entirely to bibliographical subjects, Dr. R. W. G. Vail told the story of a monumental bibliography, begun nearly seventy years ago and only just completed, Joseph Sabin's *Dictionary of Books Relating to America.*

Two papers were presented at a session held jointly with the Business Historical Society. Mr. James O. Wetterau, who has been engaged for a number of years in research on the history of the First Bank of the United States, presented some of the results of his investigations in an important paper entitled "New Light on the First Bank of the United States". He described new documentary materials which he has discovered, summarized briefly the bank's fiscal services to the government, and analyzed the management, problems, and policies of the bank as a business corporation. He had not been able to discover a com-

plete set of the bank's records, though he was inclined to think, and gave reasons to support his belief, that they are still in existence. The bank's reports to the Treasury Department were probably destroyed by fire in 1833. Mr. Wetterau's most valuable discoveries were made in the papers of Oliver Wolcott, Hamilton's successor as Secretary of the Treasury, which are in the possession of the Connecticut Historical Society. They contain, among other materials relating to the bank, a collection of the weekly reports by the Treasurer of the United States on government deposits in all banks for the years 1795-1800, inclusive. Another important find was a collection of rough drafts of minutes of the board of directors of the main bank, which the writer discovered in 1931 in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Though fragmentary, they illuminate the processes of management and the formulation of policy. Mr. Wetterau has definite knowledge of several important collections of material which he has not yet been able to examine.

In "Financing the Industrial Revolution" Professor Herbert Heaton discussed the financial problems which confronted British businessmen owing to the larger capital needed to carry on the new manufacturing. Few banks were able to make large loans, and the industrialists had to depend primarily upon personal and family funds, "drawing on the spare cash of friends, relatives, and business acquaintances if they needed it and if they could get it". It was not until the sixties and seventies of the nineteenth century, as Professor Clapham has recently pointed out, that public flotations for industrial purposes became frequent.

Two sessions were devoted to American Agriculture. Both were joint sessions, one with the Agricultural History Society, the other with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. Professor Rodney C. Loehr, in "The Influence of English Agriculture upon American Agriculture, 1775-1825", concluded that American farm leaders looked to England for guidance during the period under consideration. England's greatest concrete contribution to American agriculture was the supply of improved breeds of livestock, particularly cattle. The purpose of Professor Wayne E. Stevens in his paper, "Early Land Speculators and the Westward Movement", was to call attention to some unsolved problems in a field which has already been cultivated. The activities as land speculators of many men in public life, public reaction to the aims and methods of the speculators, the part played by land

promotion schemes in general business life, and the services of land companies in helping to advertise the West were among the subjects which he suggested for further investigation. Agrarian forces, strengthened by the victory of Jackson in 1828, were able to muster sufficient strength to secure several changes in public land policy. These were discussed by Professor Roy M. Robbins in "Jacksonian Democracy and the Public Lands", in which the conclusion was reached that the liberal land legislation from 1841 to 1862 was to a great extent the result of the fruition of tendencies inaugurated by Jacksonian Democracy. In the discussion the papers by Mr. Stevens and Mr. Robbins were challenged at certain points by Mr. Henry Tatter of Paducah, Kentucky. "The Historiography of Middle Western Agriculture" by Everett E. Edwards, agricultural economist of the United States Bureau of Agricultural Economics, was a thoughtful survey that suggested historical work to be done. Mr. Guy A. Lee of the Brookings Institution showed the historical significance of the Chicago grain elevators and indicated some of their important effects on economic life. Miss Alice M. Christensen dealt with "Agricultural Pressure and Government Response, 1917-1929". She placed the beginning of a vigorous and continuous agricultural pressure in 1919-1920, when the American farmer, "at the sudden end of a steady period of prosperity, which had been capped by the wartime boom, found a mouthpiece in the American Farm Bureau Federation".

In the past we have had American histories and Canadian histories. We are now to have, in the series of studies prepared under the direction of the Division of Economics and History of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the first volume of which has appeared, a multiple-volume Canadian-American history. Its keynote is the hyphen considered as a conjunctive, not a disjunctive, symbol, and this was the keynote of a session at Providence on Canadian-American Relations. Professor Marcus L. Hansen, discussing "The Westward Movement as a Factor in Canadian-American Population Relations", pointed out that this movement, which he regarded as the most significant fact in the history of both countries, was an experience which they had in common. One current in that movement followed a geographical route which was sometimes north and sometimes south of the international boundary, and this human thread, weaving in and out, bound together in their social institutions areas which had been unnaturally separated politically. "The westward moving pioneers were not foreigners entering a

strange land. There was, in fact, no distinction between Yankee and Canadian." Professor Harold A. Innis concluded a long and detailed paper on "Economic Factors in the History of Canadian-American Relations", which does not permit of summarization here, by suggesting that the United States and Canada would do well to give consideration to the probable effects of their respective policies and measures on each other. Professor Chester Martin took as his subject "The United States and Canadian Nationality". Referring to the piecemeal achievement of Canadian nationality, he dwelt upon the importance of American influences at every stage of its development. The ideal of international peace and the "good neighbor" policy might have effects upon historical interpretation no less distorting than those that have in the past accompanied inflated nationalism and international hostility, and it was historically desirable to recall, as Professor Martin's paper did, that the hyphen between the two North American countries has not always been conjunctive.

"America's Entry into the World War: Twenty Years of Interpretation" was the topic at the session on American Diplomatic History. Our desire to keep out of future wars has led to animated discussion of why we entered the last one, and the events of twenty years ago are being examined for the very practical purpose of learning from history how to chart our course in the event of another general European conflict. Professor McGrane, who presented the only paper given at this session, sagely observed that when peace and war are at stake, "we cannot afford the luxury of bad history", though his survey indicated that we have had a great deal of it on this theme. Was it our desire to preserve free institutions that explains why we went to war in 1917, or the German submarine warfare, or the pressure of special interests, or Allied propaganda? The list of possible "causes" could be extended indefinitely. The safe conclusion was reached that there was no single or simple cause, but, rather, many influences. Economic factors were not negligible, but this does not mean that the United States was "sandbagged" into the war by bankers. Professor Bemis and Mr. Harley A. Notter, who has been assisting Ray Stannard Baker in his work on Woodrow Wilson, took part in an interesting discussion. The former, after dismissing the possibility of establishing unique causes in history, said that our neutrality legislation of 1935-1936 indicates that cooler reflection has suggested mistakes in American diplomacy and policy twenty years ago. If, with the experience that has been gained during

the last twenty years, we had to "do it over again", he believed that our policy would be different in a number of particulars, such as the prohibition of the export of arms, ammunition, and implements of warfare, the withdrawal of protection from United States citizens on belligerent ships, the outlawing of loans and credits by United States citizens to belligerent powers, the denial to armed merchant ships of the use of American ports. He suggested historical investigation to determine whether and to what extent such policies had been proposed and considered by the administration and by Congress twenty years ago. Mr. Notter, on the basis of a forthcoming monograph and of his study of President Wilson's papers, emphasized the President's cooling toward the Allies in 1916, after the British rejection of the House-Grey memorandum, and stressed the significance of the Russian Revolution as crystallizing his decision for war. Professor William T. Langer made an observation at the conference on Modern European History that is as applicable to American as to European diplomatic history when he said that too much attention is being paid to diplomatic documents and not enough to the domestic conditions of which international affairs are usually the outgrowth.

The session on the Far East was opened with a paper that dealt with a small beginning of a great development. In "Europe as seen through the Eyes of the First Chinese Mission of Investigation" Professor Knight Biggerstaff credited this mission, which was appointed in 1866, with having made an important contribution to the introduction into China of ideas that were to become the leavening factor in a revolution in which a new China would be born. The paper was based mainly on diaries written by members of the mission, in which they recorded their impressions of the European countries they visited. Discussion brought out a significant contrast between early Chinese and Japanese missions to the West. In Japan the missions consisted of high-ranking officials, who returned to hold important positions in the government, in which they could carry out reforms based upon information gained while they were abroad, but in China this was not the case. Moreover, Japanese students returning from Western countries were given opportunities for early advancement in the civil service, contrary to the practice in China. These conditions may help to explain the contrasting rates of modernization in the two countries.

The popular notion that the Chinese are pacifists is based upon the pacifistic teachings of Chinese philosophers, but it is not supported by

the known facts of Chinese history, as was made clear by Dr. Charles S. Gardner in a paper entitled "The Emergence of Military Leadership in China: An Historical View". He concluded that the Chinese have shown themselves to be bellicose whenever it suited their interests, that although occasions for foreign war have been relatively few, the Chinese have shown marked aptitude in its prosecution, and that military leaders have seldom been wanting.

A paper on "Diplomatic Aspects of American Intervention in Siberia, 1918-1920" aroused animated discussion. The writer, Dr. Leonid I. Strakhovsky, advanced opinions on a number of matters at variance with those that have been commonly accepted. The paper was long and cannot be even summarized here. The writer had not been able to secure access to all pertinent archive materials, and in the discussion on his paper his conclusions were disputed at several points. It was felt, however, that he had made a significant contribution to a better understanding of an episode that has not received adequate investigation. Dr. Strakhovsky read a personal letter which he had received from Newton D. Baker, containing the substance of verbal instructions which Mr. Baker had given to General Graves before the latter left for Siberia.

Medicine predominated at a joint session of the Association with the History of Science Society. Lieutenant Colonel Edgar Erskine Hume, Medical Corps, U.S.A., gave an account of "The History and Work of the Army Medical Library", which had celebrated the centenary of its foundation in November. This library contains the largest collection of medical literature in the world, including many manuscripts of historical importance. Colonel Hume emphasized the importance of the library's *Index Catalogue,* which includes *"every* worthwhile article in *every* issue of *every* journal of *every* country in *every* language". A comparison of this library with the Law Library of Congress suggests, he said, the advantages of allowing a specialized library to develop along its own lines, unhampered by being a department of a great general library. Four other papers were read at this session. One of them, "New Light on Reverend Thomas Thacher's *A Brief Rule*" by Mr. Henry R. Viets, dealt with the earliest medical document to be published in this country.

The teaching of history received considerable attention. At the dinner of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association Professor W. T. Root, speaking on "The Historian as Teacher", stressed the ideal of

service to humanity and took the view that the diffusion of knowledge is as important as its increase and that more attention should be paid to the improvement of teaching. There is no doubt a great deal of bad teaching in our colleges and universities on the part of persons interested primarily in research, but a research-teaching dichotomy of the historian's function has its dangers for teaching, though Professor Root did not touch upon that aspect of the matter. The possibilities of a wider diffusion of historical knowledge by means of the radio and other agencies were enlarged upon by the executive secretary of the Association, Professor Conyers Read, in his report presented at the business meeting.[1]

The Association held a joint luncheon conference and a joint session with the National Council for the Social Studies. The two papers read at the conference, Professor Erling M. Hunt's on "The Spirit and Letter of Scholarship" and Mr. Howard B. Wilder's on "Progress in Social Studies Textbooks", will appear in later issues of *Social Education*. At the joint session Mr. Tyler Kepner described "The Dilemma of the Secondary-School Social-Studies Teacher", and Mr. Julius E. Warren spoke on "The Viewpoint of a Superintendent". Both of these papers have been published in *Social Education,* the first in February and the second in April. Professor Harold Rugg of Teachers College, answering the question "Has History been Overworked?", said a good word for the Clio he knows. It was apparent, however, that she is only a superior sort of secretary, who never forgets her place. He finds her very useful in taking telephone calls, filing newspaper clippings, facilitating generally his contacts with the world around him, and making it more orderly and intelligible to him than it would be without her. But she is emphatically not the lady whom Ranke loved and wooed for her own sake.

THE EDITORS.

[1] For the Report of the Executive Secretary and a list of officers and committees of the Association, see the Historical News section below.

THE SHIELD SIGNAL AT MARATHON

THE accounts of the battle of Marathon given by the ancient authorities are meager and conflicting.[1] Outside Herodotus the amount of reliable evidence is very small.[2] The ancient authority next to Herodotus in value is Nepos, whose account, in his life of Miltiades, seems to be derived from a source now lost and may come from Ephorus.[3] Otherwise, ancient literature contains only scattered references to the battle, among which may be mentioned Plutarch's brief account in his life of Aristides, Pausanias's description of the picture of the battle in the Stoa Poecile [4], and Suidas's explanation of a proverb, by which, in the words of Macan, "one new grain of gold is added to the circle of tradition".[5] The account in Herodotus, our best authority, is marred by brevity and the absence of topographical detail, in striking contrast to his descriptions of other battles, such as Thermopylae and Plataea. It suffers also from the historian's lack of information as to the motives of those in command and from a want of experience in strategy and tactics that leads him to describe all battles "from the point of view of the soldier in the ranks, not that of the officer in command".[6] Hence his mistakes are liable to be found chiefly in "the sequences and synchronisms" of his story.[7] Nevertheless, the text of Herodotus must be the starting point for any attempt to clear up the difficulties in his account of the battle, and every solution proposed must be consistent with the statements of his narrative. With these points in mind, therefore, and within the limits of the canons laid down by Macan for reconstructing the account of the battle of Marathon,[8] it is the object of this paper to suggest that the Persians,

[1] "Marathon, perhaps the most important battle in antiquity, is the least accurately described." S. Casson, "Cornelius Nepos: Some Further Notes", *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XL (1920), 43.

[2] G. B. Grundy, *The Great Persian War* (London, 1901), p. 55 n.

[3] R. W. Macan, *Herodotus, IV-VI* (London, 1895), II, 206, 236.

[4] I, xv, 3.

[5] Suidas, *s.v.* χωρὶς ἱππεῖς; Macan, II, 230-232.

[6] W. W. How, "Cornelius Nepos on Marathon and Paros", *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, XXXIX (1919), 57; Grundy, pp. 156, 163-165, 579.

[7] J. A. R. Munro, in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, IV, 236.

[8] "I. The strategy, tactics, and so forth, recorded, or to be suggested, must be reconciled with and determined by the topography. II. The text of Herodotus must be taken as the primary and most authoritative description of the battle and all the operations

having failed to induce the Athenians by means of cavalry assaults to leave a sheltered position and accept battle in the plain, re-embarked a part of their forces including the cavalry, and that it was a signal from an Athenian outpost informing Miltiades of the Persian movement that indicated to him the opportune moment for attack.

Only Herodotus and Suidas mention a signal in the course of the battle, and Herodotus alone says that it was the flash of a shield.[9] His statement is unusually positive.[10] He first reports the story from an Athenian source that the Alcmaeonidae, a noble Athenian family, because they desired that their city "should be under the Barbarians and under Hippias",[11] contrived the design with the Persians that the in-

connected therewith. . . . III. No theory can be satisfactory which fails to account for the assumption of the offensive by the Athenians at a particular moment. IV. No theory can be satisfactory which involves gross inconsequence, or improbability, from a military or strategic point of view." Macan, II, 236 f.

[9] "And an accusation became current among the Athenians to the effect that they [the Persians] formed this design by contrivance of the Alcmaeonidae; for these, it was said, having concerted matters with the Persians, displayed to them a shield when they had now embarked in their ships"; "Now it is a cause of wonder to me, and I do not accept the report, that the Alcmaeonidae could ever have displayed to the Persians a shield by a previous understanding, with the desire that the Athenians should be under the Barbarians and under Hippias"; "this is a cause of wonder to me, and I do not admit the accusation that these were they who displayed the shield"; "it is not reasonable to suppose that by them a shield should have been displayed for any such purpose". Herodotus, VI, 115, 121, 123, 124. All translations of Herodotus quoted in this paper are taken from G. C. Macaulay's translation (London, 1904).

[10] ἀνεδέχθη μὲν γὰρ ἀσπίς, καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστι ἄλλως εἰπεῖν· ἐγένετο γάρ· ὃς μέντοι ἦν ὁ ἀναδέξας, οὐκ ἔχω προσωτέρω εἰπεῖν τούτων. "A shield was displayed however; that cannot be denied, for it was done: but as to who it was who displayed it, I am not able to say more than this." *Ibid.*, VI, 124. Some modern authorities reject the whole story of the shield signal. Hans Delbrück (*Perserkriege*, Berlin, 1887, pp. 60 f.) and Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (*Aristoteles und Athen*, Berlin, 1893, II, 85) consider it an invention of the excited imagination of the Athenian soldiers. It has been pointed out, however, that it is not "victorious but vanquished armies which imagine treason in this way" (W. W. How and J. Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus*, Oxford, 1912, II, 116). T. R. Glover, comparing it with the spy stories of World War days, calls it "a thrilling story, useful in political strife, but quite probably untrue" (*Herodotus*, Berkeley, 1924, pp. 240 f. and n. 25). It is difficult to evade the explicit statement of Herodotus. No one apparently has questioned Herodotus, VI, 115 (the report of the shield signal) on textual grounds. Some have questioned the authenticity of VI, 121-124 (the defense of the Alcmaeonidae), but Macan accepts all except c. 122, which has no bearing on the shield incident, although he thinks that from internal evidence c. 124 may be open to suspicion (Macan, II, 165 n. 1). Macan (II, 168), Grundy (p. 191) and Munro (*Cam. Anc. Hist.*, IV, 249), among others, regard the shield signal as a historical fact.

[11] The son and successor of the tyrant Pisistratus. He had taken refuge with the Persians when he had been driven out of Athens some years before this.

vaders should sail round Sunium with the object of arriving at Athens before the Athenian army. Although he distinctly rejects the charge that the Alcmaeonidae displayed the shield, he does not deny the other details of the story—the Persian plan to sail round to Phalerum and the display of the shield when the Persians "were already embarked in their ships". He then reasserts the occurrence of the shield incident, adding that it "cannot be denied, for it was done", and, obviously at a loss to give the signal a meaning, states that he does not know who displayed the shield. It is important to note that Herodotus does not tell where the signal was displayed, whether the Persians saw it and acted upon the information it conveyed, or when, relative to the other events of the battle, it was given.

It might be inferred from the position of the shield incident in the account of the battle that Herodotus understood that the signal was made following the Persian embarkation after the battle. Aside from the improbability, which practically amounts to an impossibility, that a defeated army could embark in broad day in the presence of a victorious enemy, a careful reading of the text shows that Herodotus could have intended no such inference. The words immediately preceding the shield story are "they [the Persians] sailed round Sunium, purposing to arrive at the city before the Athenians".[12] Directly after the sentence on the shield signal, the narrative is resumed with the words, "These then, I say, were sailing round Sunium". This is a formula that Herodotus frequently employs to indicate that a break has been made in the narrative for the sake of a digression. Besides, if the text follows a strict chronological order, it would indicate that the signal was given at a time when the Persians were on the point of sailing, and that they then, notwithstanding the signal and their purpose "to arrive at the city before the Athenians", stopped at an island ten miles out of their course to pick up prisoners. Moreover, Herodotus clearly implies that the hurried march of the Athenians to the relief of the city was simultaneous with the voyage of the Persians round the cape.[13] Furthermore, the fact that the Athenians succeeded in capturing only seven ships indicates that most

[12] The complete statements are: "Seven of the ships the Athenians got possession of in this manner, but with the rest the Barbarians pushed off from land, and after taking the captives from Eretria off the island where they had left them, they sailed round Sunium, purposing to arrive at the city before the Athenians". "These then, I say, were sailing round Sunium; and meanwhile the Athenians came to the rescue back to the city as speedily as they could, and they arrived there before the Barbarians came". Herodotus, VI, 115, 116.

[13] The particles that Herodotus uses show that the two clauses are correlative. The verb in each clause is in the imperfect tense, indicating continuing action.

of the troops whom the Persians had intended to embark were probably on board before the battle began, as it was the custom of the ancients to beach their ships for embarkation and disembarkation.[14] We have here, in fact, one of those errors in sequence into which Herodotus fell because of his failure to grasp the tactical details of a battle. By the time when he wrote, the story of the shield signal apparently had been twisted into an accusation against the Alcmaeonidae by their political opponents. He rightly rejected as false the imputation of the shield signal to the Alcmaeonidae, but he failed to see the true meaning of the incident which formed the basis of the charge.

The device of the shield signal is mentioned again in Greek history. At the battle of Aegospotami, some eighty-five years after Marathon, an interval not too long to warrant the assumption that tactics had not materially changed, Lysander used this means to indicate the auspicious moment for attack. With a fleet that had suffered a bad defeat the year before, he found himself confronted by a superior Athenian fleet that for four days had boldly challenged him to fight. Each day as the Athenians retired to their base, Lysander sent his fastest scout ships to observe their movements and, meanwhile, kept the rest of his men in readiness on their ships until the scouts had reported. The Athenians grew steadily more careless of the danger, "despising Lysander because he did not put out against them". Accordingly, the Spartan ordered his scouts on the fifth day to sail back only to the middle of the strait if they found the Athenians off their guard and there to raise a shield. When this was done, he immediately gave the signal for his ships to sail at their utmost speed and so was able to annihilate the Athenian fleet.[15] The parallel with the battle of Marathon is instructive. Lysander's force was inferior in numbers and morale. The shield signal marked the critical moment for attack, which, seized with all possible speed in order to lose none of the advantage of surprise, gave overwhelming victory.

[14] Munro obviates the difficulty of the "belated signal" by suggesting that the Persian forces were divided and that the signal bore a message for Artaphernes, who was on his way from Eretria. (*Cam. Anc. Hist.*, IV, 249). The division of the Persian expedition is a shrewd deduction from the general situation. Herodotus, however, does not mention it. He implies indeed the contrary (VI, 102). The incident of Datis's dream and the return of the statue stolen from Delium (VI, 118) also implies that Datis was in command before Eretria, unless he raided Delium from Marathon, although that town lay across the strait from Eretria, or unless he ordered the restoration of some of Artaphernes's spoils.

[15] Xenophon, *Hellenica*, II, i, 20-25, 27, 28; Plutarch (*Lysander*, 10, 11) adds a few details.

The Greek army at Marathon was weaker than the Persian. A note of anxiety about its ability to cope with the invader runs through the whole of Herodotus's account of the campaign. The Persians far exceeded the Greeks in numbers. They almost certainly had a body of cavalry, and they were probably superior "in organization and in the technical side of war".[16] The Greeks had no cavalry, and the unsupported hoplite, who was unprovided with a missile, was almost helpless on the plain against such a force as the Persians brought.[17] Discussion in Athens, as at Marathon, seems to have centered in the question where the sort of army that the Athenians could put in the field might meet the enemy with the best prospects of success. What was needed was a position protected by hills on flank and rear, where the superior numbers and cavalry of the Persians would not avail, and where the Greeks might strike a decisive blow if by chance the cavalry or part of the enemy's force should be absent.[18]

For the Greeks, the cavalry with the Persian army constituted a formidable danger, since no hoplite force could accept battle in the plain without risk of encirclement. Hence Herodotus's failure to mention cavalry in the battle or to tell what became of them, after stating that they were part of the expedition, is one of his most striking omissions. When the army assembled in Cilicia, he says, the Persians placed their horses upon vessels provided for the purpose by the explicit orders of Darius. They disembarked them at Eretria, and upon its fall, guided by Hippias, they came to Marathon, "since it was the most convenient place in Attica for horsemen to act". Herodotus, thereafter, does not mention cavalry except to remark that the Persians were amazed that the Athenians attacked without the support of horsemen or archers.[19] In failing to do so, Herodotus is probably but reflecting his sources, which did not report cavalry in the battle because they actually were not there, while he fails to explain their absence because he did not understand the part that the shield signal played in the Greek tactics. The interpretation of his silence as meaning that the Persians had no cavalry in the battle is consistent with his account of the conflict. It is improbable that the Athenians would have run as far as they did onto the plain in the face of Persian cavalry or that the Athenians and Plataeans could have

[16] W. W. How, "Arms, Tactics and Strategy in the Persian War". *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, XLIII (1923), 120.

[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 119, 122.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 122.

[19] VI, 48, 95, 101, 102, 112.

overwhelmed the Persian wings before turning on the center,[20] if the Persians were following the customary practice of the ancients in massing the horsemen on the wings.[21] Moreover, Pausanias's description of the picture in the Stoa Poecile, which portrayed the battle at its height, contains no reference to Persian horsemen.[22]

On the other hand, the account of the battle which Nepos gives introduces the cavalry.[23] The two descriptions of the engagement, however, are not irreconcilable. "Marathon and Plataea", it has been said, "mutually illustrate each other",[24] and the Persian use of cavalry in the preliminaries of a battle appears in the account of the skirmishing before Plataea,[25] where the function of the horsemen was to harass the enemy by cutting him off from water and supplies, to test his mettle and strength, and to force him, if possible, to accept battle under disadvantageous circumstances. Nepos, it would seem, confused the early, defensive, phase of the Greek campaign with the main battle. He places the camp of the Athenians in a strong defensive position, protected by mountains and a tract of trees.[26] There Datis, "relying upon his numbers", attacked them on the day after their arrival, his object being to prevent Miltiades from consolidating his position, to seize command of the passes,[27] which he had either neglected to take or had had no time to

[20] Herodotus, VI, 113.

[21] J. Kromayer, *Antike Schlachtfelder*, IV (Berlin, 1924), 11, 13.

[22] I, xv, 3.

[23] *Miltiades*, c. 5.

[24] Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, III (Stuttgart, 1901), 334, accepting the observation of H. Delbrück, "Perserkriege und Burgunderkriege", *Historische Zeitschrift*, LXV (1890), 465.

[25] Herodotus, IX, 40, 49, 50.

[26] I have followed here the reading suggested by M. Cary, "Cornelius Nepos on Marathon", *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, XL (1920), 206-207. His reading is confirmed by the military practice of the time of the battle. In telling of the fight between the Thessalian horsemen of Hippias and the Spartans (511 B. C.), Herodotus says (V, 63), "they cut down the trees in the plain of Phaleron and made this district fit for horsemen to ride over, and after that they sent the cavalry to attack the enemy's camp". Thus, cutting the trees and "strewing logs about the battlefield" would not "neutralize" the presence of cavalry, as Macan suggests (II, 207), but would, on the contrary, lay the position open to cavalry attacks. "It is probable that the olive-trees were chiefly situated in the two valleys, where some are still growing" (Leake, on the Demi of Attica, *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Literature, 1829, II, 162, cited in Grote, *History of Greece*, Everyman edition, V, 59 n. 1; *cf.* also Cary, cited above). The epitaph of Aeschylus quoted by Pausanias (I, xiv, 5) declares that the grove at Marathon has witnesses of his valor. Could we take ἄλσος in its original sense of a "wood" and believe that Aeschylus was in this part of the battle?

[27] V. Campe, *De Pugna Marathonia* (Greifswald, 1867), pp. 21, 59.

occupy owing to the promptness with which the Greeks had arrived, or to provoke Miltiades to abandon his shelter and meet him in the plain. Although the tradition is strong that the Greeks took the offensive in the battle,[28] their tactics throughout almost all Nepos's account appear to have been entirely defensive. Nepos seems to have telescoped the preliminary cavalry skirmishes into the events of the main battle. This is indicated when he says, in speaking of the defeated Persians, they "did not make for their camp but their ships". During the early days of the campaign, when the Greeks remained on the defensive, the Persians naturally retired to their camp. On the day of the battle they were driven to their ships. Herodotus records no engagements before the main battle, but his account allows an interval of several days,[29] during which the armies were confronting each other and Miltiades was waiting for "his own turn to command".[30] The cavalry fighting which Nepos reports evidently occurred on these days.

The story of the presence of horsemen at Marathon lived long in tradition. It has been said that "even a false anecdote to pass current at all must have a kind of truth, a certain degree of probability",[31] and confirmation of the preliminary cavalry skirmishes is found in the report of Pausanias that, in his day, "at Marathon every night you can hear horses neighing and men fighting", and that "above the lake are the stone stables of Artaphernes' horses and marks of his tent on the rocks".[32]

The display of the shield signal seems to have marked the moment of change from the defensive to the offensive on the part of the Greeks. Herodotus gives no indication of the point from which the signal was flashed nor even of the direction from which it came. He merely repeats the story current in Athens that the Alcmaeonidae displayed a shield to the Persians. Suidas, however, says that the signal, which he does not describe, came from the "Ionians" in the Persian fleet.[33] This

[28] Kromayer, IV, 6, 9.

[29] Probably eight days. Munro, *Cam. Anc. Hist.*, IV, 243.

[30] Herodotus, VI, 108-110.

[31] T. R. Glover, *Herodotus* (Berkeley, 1924), p. 83.

[32] I, xxxii, 4, 7. J. G. Frazer (*Pausanias's Description of Greece*, London, 1913, II, 432) found "some shallow, niche-like excavations in the rock, not unlike mangers. It may have been these niches to which popular fancy gave the name of 'the mangers of the horses of Artaphernes' ".

[33] *S.v.* χωρὶς ἱππεῖς. "When Datis was invading Attica they say the Ionians, when he was withdrawing, climbing trees, signaled to the Athenians that the horsemen were away; and Miltiades understanding their departure in this manner engaged (the enemy) and won the victory, whence (they say) the maxim was used with a particular meaning of those who break up their battle-array."

detail, therefore, seems to fix the direction of the signal as from the sea and not, as has been generally assumed, from the side of the land. It is highly improbable, however, that Ionians, who may have formed a contingent of the Persian fleet, could have made the signal. Such an occurrence implies treachery in the Persian expedition, for which there is no evidence, and prearrangement with Miltiades by oral or written communication, much more difficult for traitors on the Persian fleet to contrive than it would have been for traitors in Athens seeking to reach the Persian leaders. The climbing of trees would have been of no material advantage in signaling over so great a distance and would, at the same time, surely have attracted the attention of some of the Persians and given the scheme away. Moreover, if Miltiades wished to be informed of the departure of the horsemen, the meaning attributed to the signal, he obviously increased his difficulties by seeking the information from Ionians in the Persian fleet when such an event would have been evident to his own scouts. It is generally assumed, in order to allow time for the Athenian army to return to the city on the day of the battle, that the fight occurred early in the morning. If this is correct, the signal, particularly if it were the flash of a shield, could not have been given from the sea when the sun was rising. The flash could not have been seen by the Greeks with the sun behind the signal. But such a signal could readily have been seen from the Greek encampment in the foothills of the mountains,[34] if it were flashed by scouts from the high bastion of Agrieliki, which encloses the plain of Marathon on the south and at its extremity overlooks the bay. The general direction of the signal would suggest that it came from a height toward the sea. Suidas's story seems to preserve the tradition of an Ionian claim to a share of the glory of repelling the invader, set up in later times, by declaring that the signal which precipitated Miltiades's successful attack actually came from patriotic Greeks compelled to serve in the Persian ranks.

The Persians were departing when the signal came.[35] But they clearly had expected to fight when they landed at Marathon. Guided

[34] Nepos, *Miltiades*, c. 5. *Cf.* Casson, *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, XL, 44; Kromayer, IV, 6, 19; Munro, *Cam. Anc. Hist.*, IV, 241 f. G. Sotiriades believes that he has found the site of the Athenian encampment near a spring on the lower northern slope of Agrieliki (E. P. Blegen, "News Items from Athens", *American Journal of Archaeology*, XL (1936), 263 f.).

[35] The two sources that mention the signal agree regarding this. Suidas states that it was given when Datis was withdrawing, and Herodotus says that it was made when the Persians "had now embarked in their ships".

by Hippias, they had deposited the captives from Eretria on Aeglea, a small island off the Euboean coast, that they might not be hampered by prisoners, and had moved on to Marathon so that they could use their cavalry. There they disembarked, and Hippias "disposed them in their places".[36] The "masterly inactivity" of the Athenians, however, "reduced the Persians to a stalemate".[37] For perhaps eight days Datis fruitlessly tried to induce Miltiades to abandon his position and fight in the plain, for his numbers were ineffective against a determined enemy so placed, and, without disposing of the Athenian army and gaining command of the passes, it was hopeless to attempt a movement by land upon the city. Whatever the merits or demerits of the Athenian position, the Persians showed by their attempt to move by sea that they believed that the sea route presented fewer difficulties than the march by land. Meanwhile, every day brought nearer the arrival of Spartan reinforcements for the Athenians. Datis was probably informed of Miltiades's expectations and may have known that the Spartans were only awaiting the full moon.[38] But in any case he could readily have assumed their eventual coming, for the Spartans, like the Athenians, had put to death the heralds of Darius when they came to demand "earth and water".[39] It is possible also that the Persians were threatened with a shortage of water, for this was toward the end of the dry season, and the watercourses were nearly empty.[40]

The Persians, therefore, having lost several days in fruitless efforts to obtain a decision at Marathon and wishing to settle the issue of the campaign, if possible, before the arrival of the Spartans,[41] which, they probably felt, grew daily more imminent, doubtless resolved to re-embark the greater part of their army for a direct assault upon Athens, where

[36] Herodotus, VI, 102, 107. When Herodotus states that the Persian ships lay off Phalerum (VI, 116) he is careful to use words that have no ambiguity. He describes the landing at Marathon with the usual words for coming to shore. Not all the fleet may have been beached at once. Part may have been anchored in the deeper water in the northern portion of the bay (Campe, p. 58). It is inconceivable that the Persians should have kept horses, if they had brought them, in the cramped quarters of ancient ships any longer than was absolutely necessary.

[37] Macan, II, 246; Grundy, p. 192.

[38] Herodotus, VI, 106, 107.

[39] *Ibid.*, VI, 48, 49, 94; VII, 133-137.

[40] F. Maurice, "The Campaign of Marathon", *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, LII (1932), 21. Besides, "the waste water which reaches the sea is unfit for use" (*Mediterranean Pilot*, Hydrographic Office, No. 154, 2d ed., Washington, 1925, and suppl., 1935, IV, 123). *Cf. Pausanias*, I, xxxii, 7. The water near the sea was brackish.

[41] Nepos, *Miltiades*, c. 5.

for prompt success they might count on the help of friends in the city, emboldened by their presence and the absence of Miltiades. It was necessary, then, to provide a containing force to cover the embarkation, to save the camp at least,[42] if Miltiades should attack, and, in any event, to prevent the Athenians from arriving at Athens in time to defend the city.[43] The Persians and Sacans, the best troops in the expedition, would be selected as a matter of course for this important task.[44] The cavalry that had proved ineffective under the conditions at Marathon would be far less useful for the defensive work of the containing force than for a dash upon Athens or for the repulse of the Spartans if they should appear in Attica.[45] Datis, wrongly attributing the inactivity of Miltiades to timidity rather than prudence, seems to have believed that he could safely divide his forces, for, he probably thought, the fight at Marathon, if there should be one, would be a minor affair.[46] The night would be the natural time for embarkation, in order to escape the notice of the Greeks as long as possible, and the horses would be embarked first, "a very slow and difficult business".[47] As it was probably the night after the full moon,[48] there was light enough to work with speed but not enough to betray with certainty to distant Athenian scouts what was going on.[49] Meanwhile, Miltiades, we may suppose, unable to

[42] Plutarch (*Aristides*, c. 5) mentions the riches in the Persian camp, and Pausanias (X, xi, 5) saw the Treasury of the Athenians at Delphi which had been dedicated out of the spoils at Marathon.

[43] P. K. Baillie Reynolds, "The Shield Signal at the Battle of Marathon", *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, XLIX (1929), 103-104.

[44] Herodotus, VI, 113; Grote, V, 60.

[45] Munro, *Cam. Anc. Hist.*, IV, 245-246.

[46] None of the Persian commanders was killed in the battle. The feeling that Datis ought to have been in personal command of his troops and have fallen there is indicated by the fact that the Persian sources of Ctesias "rather emphatically dwelt upon" his alleged death at Marathon (Grote, V, 63 n. 1).

[47] Maurice, *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, LII, 17.

[48] The Spartans, leaving home as soon as the moon was full, arrived in Athens on the third day to find that the battle had been fought the day before and that the Persians after hovering a few hours off Phalerum had already sailed for Asia (Herodotus, VI, 120; Plato, *Laws*, III, 698e). The Spartans must have arrived very soon after the battle. If they had had news of the victory before they left Sparta, they would not have started, and if they had heard it before they had covered most of the distance, they probably would have turned back.

[49] Professor G. Van Biesbroeck of Yerkes Observatory was kind enough to compute for me from the tables of Neugebauer the times of moonrise and moonset and sunrise and sunset for the dates suggested by Munro, September 21, 491 B. C. (*Cam. Anc. Hist.*, IV, 245 and note) and How and Wells, September 12, 490 B. C. (II, 109). In each case there was only a short interval between sunset and moonrise. As sunrise occurred an

observe the movements of the Persians from his camp at the base of the mountains and compelled with a single small army to guard all the exits from the plain, had set outposts on the heights, which were too steep and too nearly waterless to serve as sites for a camp, with instructions to report instantly any sign that the Persians were about to move by land or by sea. To discover them already standing out to sea would tell him that they were probably moving on Athens, but the news would come too late to give him the indispensable advantage of taking them in the act of embarking. Any unusual activity at night observed in the Persian encampment would doubtless have been reported to Miltiades. But its significance, however rightly guessed, required swift confirmation at daybreak to ensure that the appropriate action be taken. Hence, the flashing of a shield would have served either to notify Miltiades that the auspicious moment had arrived or to confirm a previous message of anticipation.

The scene on the morning of the battle may readily be imagined. Dawn comes quickly in the latitude of Greece, and when the sun rose an Athenian scout saw on the bay below him the Persian expedition almost ready to sail. The last ships were being loaded along the beach, while the rest lay awaiting only daylight and the early morning lull between land breeze and sea breeze to be assured of a safe passage round the "foul and rocky southwestern point of the bay" on the route to Athens.[50] The night had been too short for the full accomplishment of the Persian plans. This, the scout doubtless knew, was the moment for which Miltiades had waited, and he flashed the signal with his shield, "Now is the time". Instantly Miltiades seized the offensive. Marshaling his men at the mouth of a valley between the foothills, he extended the line to equal that of the Persians drawn up to cover the embarkation[51] and let his men go "at a run to attack the Barbarians", a charge that went down in tradition as the notable incident of the battle.[52] Whether or not the Athenians charged the full mile is

hour or more before moonset, the sinking moon did not cast the shadow of the Pentelicus range across the plain. The Greek skies are normally cloudless during the month of September.

[50] *Mediterranean Pilot*, IV, 37-38, 122; Herodotus, VI, 115.

[51] Meyer (III, 333) points out that the Persians must have been drawn up first, since Miltiades was able to estimate the length of their line.

[52] Herodotus mentions the circumstance three times in VI, 112. The word ἀπείθησαν, "were discharged" or "released", as of a missile held under tension, is noteworthy. The parallel suggested by this figure of speech with the action of Lysander at Aegospotami is striking.

not of great importance. The significant point is that speed was of the greatest consequence. How great was the urgency for speed is shown by the fact that the Athenians, to a great degree, failed to hinder the embarkation of the Persians and, in spite of all their efforts, succeeded in capturing only seven ships. Miltiades, it seems reasonable to suppose, feared that his great opportunity was about to slip from his grasp, and that he would be compelled to meet an attempt of the Persians to land in force before Athens with possible treachery in the city behind him.

The headlong attack seems to have taken the Persians by surprise. Herodotus says that "in their minds they charged the Athenians with madness which must be fatal, seeing that they were few and yet were pressing forwards at a run, having neither cavalry nor archers".[53] His notion of the thoughts of the Persians must have been an inference from the accounts of Athenian veterans, who may have observed both astonishment and alarm in the Persian ranks. Astonishment arose most probably from surprise at the reckless attack of an army that they had come to despise for its inactivity, as the Athenians later despised Lysander, and alarm from the knowledge that their own horsemen, and perhaps their archers as well, were already on board the ships. The charge was probably unexpected for the reason also that their rules of battle did not contemplate attack without the support of cavalry or archers. Moreover, the meaning of the adage, "The horsemen are away", as Suidas explains it, is that an army by the breaking up of its battle array suffers defeat through the absence, at the critical moment, of the arm that would have given victory. So Pausanias, describing the painting in the Stoa Poecile, says that he saw pictured "the Phoenician ships, and the Greeks slaying those of the barbarians who were scrambling into them",[54] for some of the fugitives from the battle, probably but a few, reached the beach and sought safety in the last of the departing ships. And when he comes to Marathon he says, "It was at this point in Attica that the foreigners landed, were defeated in battle, and lost some of their vessels as they were putting off from the land".[55]

[53] VI, 112.

[54] I, xv, 3. Phoenician ships usually made up a great part of the Persian fleet.

[55] Pausanias, I, xxxii, 3. A "panic" seems to have fallen on the Persians in the battle. Did this result from their surprise at the Athenian attack, which caught them with forces divided, or was this the service promised by Pan to Philippides as he ran to Sparta (Herodotus, VI, 105)? Is it not likely that the aid of Pan, a god of woodlands and high hills, would have been seen in the protection afforded the Athenian camp by mountains and trees and in the strategic advantage that came from it?

Datis's "only military mistake" had been "underestimating the fighting qualities of the Athenian hoplite" and consequently leaving a containing force that was too small.[56] He had not been hopelessly beaten. He probably had partisans in Athens. With their help, the capture of the town was still possible. He, therefore, held to his plan in the hope of receiving some signal or message as he lay off Phalerum. But it never came, for Miltiades, too, grasping the significance of the direction taken by the fleet, hurried to the city, and Athens was saved.[57]

The story of the shield signal could not have arisen from the error of attributing an unintended meaning to the chance flashing of shields on the battlefield. Aside from Herodotus's explicit statement and the circumstantial details of his account, such an origin is very improbable because the usual random flashing of shields would have passed unnoticed as without significance. To be singled out for suspicion as a signal, the suggestion of design would be necessary, either the repetition of the same flash or the display of a shield from a conspicuous spot or some other striking peculiarity of the act.

Although it has been shown that the shield signal may be explained without recourse to the theory that it was the work of Persian partisans in the city, it is necessary to admit the presence of traitors in Athens. The accusation against the Alcmaeonidae would have been absurd if there had been no tradition of a pro-Persian party there at the time of the battle. The Persians expected that the Athenians, like the Eretrians, would be betrayed by some of their leading men after a few days'

[56] Reynolds, *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, XLIX, 104.

[57] If an inscription recently found at Athens is correctly interpreted by its first editor, it is from the cenotaph erected in honor of the Athenians who fell at Marathon and was written shortly after the battle. It contains parts of two epigrams consisting of two distichs apiece, and was first published by James H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, II (1933), 480-494. The second epigram runs as follows:

ἔν ἄρα τοῖσ' ἀδαμ[. . . . .] hότ' αἰχμὲν στῆσαμ πρόσθε πυλῶν ἀν[. . .]
ἀνχίαλομ πρῆσαι ρ[. . . . .] ἄστυ βίαι Περσῶν κλιναμενο[. . . .]

The note of *prevention* can be detected in the words that portray Athenian reflection upon the victory, presumably because the defeat at Marathon was felt to have forced the Persians to abandon their final plan of an assault upon Athens from the sea. The meaning of the second epigram may have been: "There was in the hearts of these men courage indomitable, because, when the enemy hastened to pass over the field by the sea, they halted the spearmen before the gates, and rescued the city of Athena, turning aside with their strength the might of the Persians". The *editor princeps*, accepting a textual emendation, has replied to critics in two further articles: "The Marathon Epigrams", *American Journal of Philology*, LVI (1935), 193-201, and "The Monument with the Marathon Epigrams", *Hesperia*, V (1936), 225-234.

resistance.[58] The speech to Callimachus that is put into the mouth of Miltiades clearly portrays fear of the growth of defeatist sentiment in the city, which, in the absence of a vigorous military policy, would play into the hands of leaders who were friendly to Hippias and the Persians.[59] Yet Miltiades seems to have had confidence in the loyalty of the troops at Marathon. He deliberately waited several days before risking battle, waiting perhaps for "the gods" to "grant equal conditions".[60] None of the sources intimates that the five generals who voted against Miltiades's proposal to fight or that any of the men in the ranks failed to fight bravely and well in the battle,[61] although the hoplite army of Athens must have included practically all able-bodied men of this rating[62] and, therefore, practically all the men of those classes from which the potential leaders of a treasonable conspiracy could have come. It is highly improbable that any number of traitors would have been found only in the single tribal regiment chosen by chance to guard Athens, if one had been left in reserve, or that the settlers from Euboea who had just escaped from the barbarians[63] would have been a fertile recruiting ground for accomplices in a scheme to turn over the city to the Persians. There could have been, therefore, no organized conspiracy in Athens but only a few men waiting to capitalize the vacillation of the leaders or a defeat of the army to bring about the surrender of the city to the Persians. At Eretria there had been confusion of plans and considerable sentiment for submission from the first appearance of the enemy.[64] At Athens the success of the traitors would have depended upon convincing the mass of the citizens of the hopelessness of resistance. They could not have been sufficiently numerous themselves either to seize control of the city or to be confident of their ability to do more than open the gates to a Persian assault.[65]

[58] The Persians, after the capture of Eretria, "sailed for the land of Attica, pressing on hard and supposing that the Athenians would do the same as the Eretrians had done". Herodotus, VI, 102. The betrayal of Eretria is described in VI, 100, 101.

[59] "Now if we do not (fight), I expect that some great spirit of discord will fall upon the minds of the Athenians and so shake them that they shall go over to the Medes; but if we fight a battle before any unsoundness appear in any part of the Athenian people, then we are able to gain the victory in the fight, if the gods grant equal conditions." *Ibid.*, VI, 109.

[60] At least four days (Munro, *Cam. Anc. Hist.*, IV, 244 f.).

[61] Herodotus, VI, 109, 110; Grote, V, 66.

[62] Grundy, p. 171. The army comprised probably a thousand men in each of ten tribal regiments (Munro, *Cam. Anc. Hist.*, IV, 239).

[63] Herodotus, VI, 100, 101.

[64] *Ibid.*, VI, 100.

[65] The city was probably walled. How and Wells, II, 31.

The signal was given when the Persians had already embarked on their ships.[66] The flash of a shield, answering simply "Yes" or "No" to a question agreed upon beforehand, could have conveyed to the Persians, if its message were intended for them at all, only assurance of help within Athens or a warning that their accomplices were helpless.[67] An encouraging signal would not have been given after the battle, for traitors would not have committed themselves after the Persian defeat, since the possibility of the Persians reaching Athens before the army of Miltiades then hardly existed.[68] It is not probable that a favorable message was flashed either to Datis before the battle or "to the advancing victorious Artaphernes", for the Persians made no move to act on it by attempting a landing at Phalerum, although success, it must have been evident, was still within their grasp.[69] At Phalerum, if anywhere, they might have looked for a welcome, if the Alcmaeonidae were their partisans.[70] Even if Miltiades were already in Athens, as in fact he was,[71] Datis, with fresh troops greatly surpassing in number the weary and depleted force of the Greeks,[72] ought to have supported the men in the city who had dared to promise him aid and to have retrieved, if possible, the repulse at Marathon.[73] That he sailed to Phalerum at all indicates that he felt strong enough to assault the city if he were

[66] Herodotus, VI, 115.

[67] The difficulty of signaling with a shield in a sort of code is so great as to make it practically impossible. "The most that could be attempted with nothing but a shield was a bare indication that a flash was being made", and that would have been unintelligible as a warning of a sudden or unexpected emergency. To arrange the signal, the Persians must have been in touch with their friends in the city and must have known the state of affairs there. Reynolds, *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, XLIX, 100-102.

[68] Maurice, *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, LII, 18; Grundy, p. 192.

[69] Munro, *Cam. Anc. Hist.*, IV, 249. Herodotus (VI, 115) says that the Persians, after leaving Marathon and before sailing round Sunium, stopped at an island off Euboea to take off the captives from Eretria. When, however, the concentration of all the Persian forces before Athens at the earliest possible moment was essential to the success of an attack upon the city, it is scarcely credible that Datis, in the face of notice that the conspirators in the city were ready, would have tempted fortune by stopping to pick up prisoners or by sending off even a part of his fleet for that purpose.

[70] Munro, *Cam. Anc. Hist.*, IV, 251.

[71] Herodotus, VI, 116.

[72] Plutarch (*Aristides*, c. 5) states that the Athenians returned to Athens on the day of the battle, and Herodotus implies as much (*cf.* Munro, *Cam. Anc. Hist.*, IV, 250 f.). The Greeks had lost 192 Athenians killed besides other casualties to the number of perhaps 1000. One tribal regiment had been left on the field (Plutarch, *Aristides*, c. 5). What became of the Plataeans is nowhere stated. They had probably gone directly home (Reynolds, *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, XLIX, 102; Munro, *Cam. Anc. Hist.*, IV, 250 n.). The reinforcements from Sparta had not yet arrived (Herodotus, VI, 120).

[73] Reynolds, *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, XLIX, 102.

assured of help within. He, therefore, could not have received a favorable message or he would have attempted to land.

If the message, however, were a warning that the conspirators were helpless, why did the Persians sail round to Phalerum at all, when the capture of Athens with "the comparatively small punitive expedition" was impossible without co-operation within the city?[74] Datis could have signaled the fleet to retire to Asia, as it sailed round Sunium, as easily as he did when it lay off Phalerum.[75] The fact that after the defeat at Marathon the Persian fleet, or a detachment, stopped on its way to Phalerum to take "the captives from Eretria off the island where they had left them"[76] clearly indicates that they did not expect to return to the waters off Marathon. It suggests that Datis anticipated that something would happen to enable him to take Athens, the object of the whole campaign. It was surely off Phalerum, where they could act at once, that the Persians expected a signal from their friends within the walls. No signal was given to the Persians, or expected, at Marathon. But off Phalerum Datis waited for a signal that never came, and it never came because the conspiracy was paralyzed by news of the victory.[77] The conspirators, too few to accomplish anything independently, had kept their plans secret. Thus, no evidence was presented to the eyes of the Athenian people that the men who were known to be friendly toward the Persians had actually contemplated an overt act of treachery.

The subsequent immunity of the conspirators is evidence that they made no signal whatever, for the Athenians would have been as unlikely to condone the sending of a negative as of an affirmative message, and treason would have been proved by evidence of any sort of communication with the enemy. Herodotus's defense of the Alcmaeonidae, probably inspired by that house itself, has been called highly artificial and manifestly unconvincing.[78] The weakness of the defense, however, does not prove that the Alcmaeonidae displayed the shield. It merely

[74] *Ibid.*, pp. 102 f.

[75] *Cf.* Herodotus, VII, 128: "he [Xerxes] embarked in a Sidonian ship . . . and he displayed a signal for the others to put out to sea also".

[76] *Ibid.*, VI, 115.

[77] The extraordinary speed with which, according to Lucian's story, the news of the victory was dispatched to Athens is perhaps explained by the anxiety of Miltiades to forestall the machinations of traitors working on the alarm of the people, a fear that he had expressed in his speech to Callimachus (*ibid.*, VI, 109).

[78] W. W. How, "Cornelius Nepos on Marathon and Paros", *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, XXXIX (1919), 57. The criticism of the defense is summarized in Grundy, pp. 166 f. and How and Wells, II, 115, 359 f.

proves that, at the time when Herodotus wrote, the tradition of their friendliness toward Persia was sufficiently strong for the accusation to be circulated with some degree of plausibility, when the actual culprit was unknown.[79] Otherwise it would have fallen of its own weight. Moreover, it seems highly improbable that if the Alcmaeonidae had been manifest traitors, one of their number could have carried through a successful prosecution of Miltiades, the hero of the battle, only a few weeks after the victory.[80] The Alcmaeonidae remained merely suspected, and the doubt of their treachery can readily be explained on the ground that a conspiracy failed to materialize and especially that they made no signal. No traitor was punished for displaying the shield at the battle of Marathon, for none displayed it. Over a half century after the event Herodotus recorded, from sources hostile to the Alcmaeonidae,[81] a story which coupled their well-known pro-Persian sympathies with an incident of the battle of which the true significance had been forgotten, or suppressed for the sake of a sinister charge in party strife.

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[79] I have called the Alcmaeonidae pro-Persian. Perhaps it would be more nearly correct to call them anti-Spartan, but to be anti-Spartan at this juncture would mean to lean toward Persia (*cf.* Munro, *Cam. Anc. Hist.*, IV, 250). Pindar (Pythian, VII) alludes to their sinister reputation.

[80] E. M. Walker, *Cam. Anc. Hist.*, IV, 253; Grote, V, 68; Reynolds, *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, XLIX, 103.

[81] The accusation seems clearly to have come, in contrast to the defense, from a source close to the Philaidae, the family of Miltiades, the bitter political foes of the Alcmaeonidae. The Alcmaeonidae alone were accused (Grundy, pp. 157, 167; Grote, V, 68). Grote speaks of "the enmity between Cimon and Pericles . . . inherited by both from their fathers". See also How, *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, XXXIX, 56.

CURRENTS OF THOUGHT IN HISTORIOGRAPHY

I

A movement of interests and ideas has conspired to make history the crown of all studies. The three great conceptions of policy now bidding for the acceptance and loyalty of mankind—democracy, fascism, and communism—rest and, in the nature of things, must rest on an interpretation of history as actuality. Are there stable elements in human nature in society? Are the capacities for the formation and maintenance of institutional types really fundamental? Can the statesman rely upon them with assurance in modifying existing institutions and in projecting new forms of social organization? Or is human nature as revealed in history, with all its apparent conservatism and capacity for institutional loyalties, an instable, formless chaos of confused ideas, superstitions, and dark emotions, which can be marshaled by leaders under myths and symbols for any purposes which possessors of charm and force may, out of their passions, choose for mankind?

These are basic questions of the hour and indeed of all time. Certainly the drive of current events in the Old World and the New brings them to the minds of all students of human affairs not sublimely indifferent to the tendencies of things and the future of their own work. Is there, indeed, any philological historian or archivist so engrossed in his labors that the headlines of the morning newspapers, the sound of marching men, and the throbbing of sectarian drums pass unheeded, leaving no traces on his sense of values and his selection of themes for exploration? If, perchance, the philologist, antiquarian, and annotator of documents can be in the world and yet not of it, the historian who deals with large phases of history—the rise of the Roman Empire, the development of modern Europe, the growth of the United States, or the "awakening" of the Orient—cannot remain in an ivory tower, indifferent to the crisis in government and economy which has so long shaken Western civilization. Were it possible for him to do so, how could he hope to know anything real about the past while remaining utterly indifferent to the present unfolding under his very eyes? The clamor of the so-called practical world penetrates the solid walls of the historian's study. Insistent voices are heard asking: What has history

as a body of authentic knowledge to say about the nature and tendencies of things? If the historian remains silent, still he is at war with himself in his own bosom; and those who demand answers will make fantastic history out of whole cloth. And youth will doubtless say: Why study a subject that throws no light at all upon the issues of humanity?

It is not only external events that lead to the exploration of history with renewed energy and zest. The thought of historians has been profoundly disturbed by an inner questioning respecting the very nature of history as actuality and of historiography itself. Ideas in the minds of thinkers are subjected to critical analysis and changed by efforts to get at their meaning and to trace their relations to other ideas and to the actuality with which they have a certain correspondence. Even the thought of medieval scholastics, well cushioned against the secular world and limited by loyalty to a general unity, moved, developed questionings, and produced antitheses difficult to reconcile with the overarching assumptions. Had there been no Protestant Revolt, it is reasonably certain that scholastic views of physical nature and human history would not be today exactly as they were in 1450, let us say. By contrasting the historical conceptions of Bossuet and Vico, for example, one can discover how deep the cleavage can be between two thinkers loyal to the "same" Catholic Church. To employ a figure, ideas march, divide, and come into conflict with themselves, with or without relation to the world of external events.

The history of the development of historical conceptions in the minds of historians is long and bewildering in its ramifications. To attempt here even a mere sketch of it is out of the question. But the problem of the inner exfoliation of historical conceptions can be illustrated. About the turn of this century there generally prevailed a conception of the historian's methods, obligations, and achievements, which some German writers called *Historismus*. Like all such terms, historism has been employed in various senses. It is indeed *ein schillerndes Wort,* an opalescent word. Yet Karl Heussi is quite within his right when he defines it for convenience as the kind of historical writing that professional historians were doing around the year 1900. Historians who followed the dominant conception may be divided into two broad classes: (1) those who gave little thought to just what they were doing and pursued somewhat automatically the methods of the books and classroom; and (2) those who, after giving thought to their work, delib-

erately adopted certain assumptions. These assumptions included a definite position with respect to the age-long objective-subjective problem, the conviction that a thoroughgoing organization of great historical events in an all-embracing coherence was possible, the idea of continuous evolution, and the limitation of history to the world of the recorded and observable.[1]

By the time historism, so defined, reached its climax of power over the minds of historians, and indeed before that period, historians were themselves thinking about it and employing both logic and the search for correspondence with reality in an effort to grasp it and test its validity. Man seems to be of necessity a kind of thinking animal. Historians share this quality. They turned their thought in upon their thought, and the outcome was something different from that which had been accepted before.

This process of the internal criticism of historism found expression in Italy in occasional writings of Benedetto Croce, which appeared in 1912 and 1913 and were collected in his *History: Its Theory and Practice*, published in 1916. When they were issued in book form the crisis of the World War had broken in upon the calm of European historians; but it is to be noted that Croce saw the coming crisis in historical thought before the roar of external events announced a crisis in the world of practice. Once more "the antithesis between imaginative romanticism and materialistic positivism" was clearly raised. Historism no longer satisfied the spirit of the historian; the period of this kind of positivism was closing, if not closed; a new conception of historiography was appearing, grasping at features of the human mind and spirit that had been excluded from historism. What the form of this new conception was, how far it might spread from country to country, and how long it might remain uppermost, Croce did not pretend to say, for that would have been to enter the domain of prophecy. One thing seemed certain: loyalty to historism, as defined by Heussi, was dissolving, for good or ill, and the search for something wider, deeper, and more satisfying had begun among professional historians when the war opened. Did that outbreak of war have anything to do with the positivism and materialistic conceptions which had long prevailed in historical thought? That was a neat question for the historian himself.

From the Rhine to the Urals and beyond, events made drastic

[1] Karl Heussi, *Die Krisis des Historismus* (Tübingen, 1932), p. 20; for a fuller summary, Charles A. Beard, "That Noble Dream", *American Historical Review*, XLI, 76 ff.

changes in "the objective relations" of human beings and nations, with which historism had been so assiduously concerned. In Russia the Bolshevists, whose whole scheme of thought and policy rested upon a specific interpretation and conception of history, announced the close of "bourgeois history", *den Sprung in die Freiheit*, the emancipation of mankind from the tyranny of old history, and the supremacy of humanity over the making of history. Incidentally they tore open the Russian archives and published the secret treaties of the Entente Allies and documents revealing the interests and intrigues connected with the launching of the World War. Entirely apart from the acts of the Russian Revolution, this mere publication of documents that might have remained hidden for decades set in train something akin to a revolution in historians' thought about the history of 1870-1914, if nothing more. Was the interpretation of history on which the Bolshevists relied in bringing to pass a tremendous revolution a "sound" interpretation? If there was no "soundness" in it, then how did they manage to overthrow and stamp out the Czarist-Kerensky regimes so effectively and so ruthlessly? These were questions for historians to consider, unless they were far removed in space and deliberately decided to avoid the questions or keep silence. While it was possible for American historians busy with reconstruction in Alabama or sectionalism in Michigan to escape the impact of these queries, historians in Central and Eastern Europe were at least embarrassed by them, if not startled into a fresh survey of historism.

In Germany the repercussions of the war and the crisis in historism announced by Croce disturbed the calm of the most "objective" historians. As the huge façade of the Wilhelminic system crashed to earth, as efforts were made to build a new structure under the Weimar Constitution, as riots of communist agitators, the shots of Fehme murderers, and the tramp of Hitler's storm troopers penetrated study walls, German historians were literally forced to think about the relation of the craft of history writing to history as actuality. Many sought refuge in silence, secretly hoping for a return of William or a restoration of the old order, which had been so comfortable for them. Others, particularly of the younger generation, plunged anew into the consideration of the working conceptions of history and historical writing. Germany had been the original home of historism. Tradition suggested the discussion of historical conceptions. The antithesis had begun to develop in the minds of historians. The crisis of the war accentuated the challenge to

thought. To speak summarily, without giving any adequate impression of the new and profound work done by German scholars between 1919 and 1933, we may say that history as actuality and historiography received a searching scrutiny which, for breadth and depth, exceeded the work of the preceding century. Not a phase, corner, aspect, or possibility seemed to remain unexplored. And constructive thinking of a high order brought forth the outlines of new conceptions of historiography which can be ignored only by historians who deliberately choose to avoid all inquiry into the nature of their own work.[2]

Upon American historical scholarship all this Continental searching and exploring has had little apparent effect. Few of our universities, it seems, offer courses in the history of historiography or pay much attention to what the historian thinks he is doing when he is taking mountains of notes and selecting and arranging his "facts". Individuals, here and there, reveal awareness and knowledge of the trends in European historical thinking. Some discussions of the subject have occurred in scholarly journals, but seldom with that good temper and "objectivity" which indicate a love of learning as distinguished from pique. Perhaps the prevailing view of this theme in the United States may be summed up in the sentence: "American historians have no philosophy of history; they want none; they distrust it; they regard anyone who bothers with it as an intruder or a mystic who is trying to impose something on them." Has it not been said that there is a history of philosophy but no philosophy of history? Or if the idea of finding some unity in history be not entirely rejected, the happy day is postponed to that distant future when enough facts have been amassed and enough monographs have been published. In fine, there seems to be a tendency in our historical scholarship to reject the idea that there are controlling conceptions in all historical writing, to treat historiography as nothing more than the "research" taught in universities, or to avoid the issue by referring it to some remote period in coming time.

Is there any ground, then, for supposing that European inquiries into the nature of historiography and the illuminating suggestions that flow from them will affect historical scholarship in the United States? It is painful, no doubt, to have our habitual assumptions challenged by the application of the Socratic elenchus. Such assumptions are likely to be so deeply ingrained in our processes of thinking that we instinctively resent any intrusion. Moreover, the historian immersed in documenta-

[2] For clues to this literature, see Heussi.

tion, annotation, and compilation is suspicious of dogmas, a priori notions, and philosophic questions. He regards them as promoting loose thinking, a distortion of facts, and general confusion in the name of "system". But reasoning from past experience, the probabilities are that widening circles of European historical criticism and constructive efforts will reach these shores. Kant's transcendentalism arrived in the United States and played havoc with New England theology just about the time that Hegel's deviations and criticisms were breaking the empire of Kantian idealism in Germany. Hegel's philosophy of history arrived in this country with decided force after Marx had turned Hegelianism upside down in the fatherland. Now the young generation seems inclined to take on Marx's mechanism in history just at the moment when Mannheim discovers the loopholes in it. It is not going far beyond the mark to say that European disturbances in thought will find their loudest echoes here after the lapse of thirty or forty years. If this conjecture is correct, then the problems that disturbed Croce about 1912 may become insistent in the United States about 1950.

There are other reasons for anticipating a thorough examination of the presuppositions upon which American historiography has long proceeded. One of them is the appeal to history which younger writers with no professional claims are making, such, for example, as Agar in *The People's Choice* and Seldes in *Mainland,* to say nothing of historical fiction, for instance, Margaret Mitchell's *Gone with the Wind.* Of the growing popular concern with history, good and bad, professional historians will doubtless take note, in the form of criticism if nothing else. Still more likely to affect the thought of historiography is the tendency of the other humanistic studies—economics, politics, sociology, anthropology, and social geography—to widen their borders in the search for impinging and conditioning realities; and in each case this widening process drives the searchers out toward the borders of all history—in space and in time. In each case questions are asked: What is the nature of this all-encompassing medium called history as actuality? How can we know something about it? What can we know? What are these tendencies enclosed in history which do not seem to be purely economic, political, and rational? They have a way of upsetting all reasoned conceptions of economy and public policy. Only by the pursuit of each special subject to the fullness of its relationships can we hope to discover "the cycles and epicycles" upon which it turns.

So between the influences of their own thought and the impacts of

popular writers and serious scholars in other fields, American historians will probably find themselves driven to a persistent consideration of their own work. Nor can they hope to escape very long the imputation that they themselves have some philosophy or scheme of controlling values when they cry out that they have none. As a matter of fact, will any historian admit that he has no idea of what he is doing as he takes notes, selects and arranges "facts" in sentences, paragraphs, sections, chapters, and volumes? If he has no idea, then just what is he doing? If he has an idea, what is it?

II

It is under some such overarching conception of historiography, in which European and American peculiarities are overlapped and differentiated to some extent, that the latest Continental contribution to the subject, by Friedrich Meinecke, should be considered.[3] In this conception there ought to be nothing purely critical, nothing that pertains to the mere contest of schools and personalities. If Meinecke's work does indeed strike into controversies or suggest controversies, its spirit must be regarded as the spirit of the search for truth—a goal toward which we may strive, although we may never reach it.

The *Historismus* of which Meinecke writes has in it nothing of the opprobrious. Nor is it a mere methodology or way of writing history at any given time. Rather is it to him "one of the greatest spiritual revolutions which Occidental thought has undergone", the application of the new post-Cartesian principle of life and cognition to history, above all the overcoming of the natural-rights school, with its belief in the stability of human nature and particularly in human reason. "The quintessence of historism consists in the replacement of the generalizing view of historico-human forces by an individualizing view." Thus historism, defined by a French writer as "le sens de la différence des temps", is contrasted with the conception prevalent in the Age of Enlightenment, which regarded time as ever the same in its essence to the degree of interchangeableness and accepted the possibility of recurrence in events and periods. The emphasis of the former is on the once-ness or uniqueness of the historical event or person, as against the one-ness or continuity running through history—one truth, one beauty, one good. Historism, as represented by Möser, claims that "each time (each na-

[3] *Die Entstehung des Historismus.* Zwei Bände. (Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1936. Pp. 1-304, 305-656. 19 M.)

tion, etc.) has its own style", or, as represented by Ranke, that it relates history "wie es eigentlich gewesen ist", a claim which would have been truer, perhaps, in the form of a comparative, "wie es eigentlicher gewesen ist"; that is, it pretends to depict the past more truly than the historiography of the Enlightenment. To Meinecke this historism is almost the absolute good in historiography; for only in one place is it admitted that "historism is no all-saving faith that puts all unbelievers into an inferior class" (p. 310). After its formative process is completed, historism becomes in historiography, roughly speaking, the *pendant* of the school of "historical jurisprudence" and the Schmoller school of economics.

Having conceived historism in this manner, Meinecke traces its rise as that part of historiography which deals with the origin of the historical sense or conception, as distinguished from mere critical methods. His work is therefore a piece of *Ideen- und Geistesgeschichte* or, in other words, "a history of those valuations and principles of form (*Gestaltung*) which underlie historical thought generally" (p. 8). It is a sketch of the change and shift in direction which the thought of historical writers underwent: Shaftesbury, Leibniz, Gottfried Arnold, Vico, Voltaire, Montesquieu, Hume, Gibbon, Robertson, Ferguson, Burke, Lessing, Winckelmann, Herder, Goethe, and Ranke—all interrelated except for the isolated figure of Vico. These thinkers marked the stages in the transition from Enlightenment and natural rights to historism as Meinecke defines it. From their names it is evident that historism, the thought of history, is not the thought of historians in the narrower or professional sense. The amalgamation of the new thought and critical research was not completely effected until Ranke's time.

The starting points and outcomes of this transition may be best presented, perhaps, in the scheme on the next page. It lacks the careful, richly nuanced presentation of Meinecke's loving pages, revealing the relations of the several thinkers to historism, but it is the shortest way in which to give an idea of the author's plan.

To elucidate this abbreviated scheme somewhat by a repetition: With Shaftesbury and Leibniz began the new and revolutionary appreciation of the separate individuality, which was, in the case of the Englishman, an expression of that complete emancipation assured to the educated individual of the British aristocracy after the Glorious Revolution. It was then that the shedding of the claims inherent in natural rights was facilitated by the emancipated classes in the British world.

HISTORICAL THOUGHT

FROM	TO
Natural law, of super-temporal validity	Historism; laws of only temporary and local validity
Contract theory of the founding of the State through rational agreement of men	Political power, geographic situation, genius of the people, as foundation of the State
Homo intelligendo fit omnia	*Homo non intelligendo fit omnia* (Vico)
Belief in the immutability of the highest in human ideals, in the essential sameness of human nature everywhere, in the possibility of cyles in history	Time and place conditioning of ideals, individualism, individuality of historical persons, works, and events
Weltgeist	*Volksgeist*
Human welfare	Welfare of races
Original equality of men	Original inequality of men
Human reason as sufficient for all purposes of elucidation; intellect, intellectualism, rationalism, pragmatism	Soul, intuition, irrationalism, vision (*Schau*), Platonism, Neoplatonism; "wisdom without reflection and above it" (Burke)
Humanity as the object and carrier of history	The State as the object and carrier of history
The world as world of human beings	World as "world of nations" (Vico)
Rights of man, denial of power politics	State reason, approval of power politics (*Machtbejahung*)
Progress toward definite ends; world progression	*"Progressus in infinitum"* (Leibniz); "World circumgression" (Goethe)
State, like man, under law	State as living entity, above law
Natural rights passing judgment on the right or wrong of historical enterprises; war-guilt question	Abstention from moral judgments; no war-guilt question
Middle ages as a combination of follies (Voltaire and Hume)	Higher esteem for the chivalric age
Belief in reason	Belief in fate
Sad and insane episodes in history as such	Such episodes given a tragic character
Normal, typical beauty	Individual beauty
Revolutions; the State of the rights of man; democracy; progress	Conservatism; Burke's State of the "saints and knights"; Metternich's Restoration

Meinecke groups Shaftesbury with his German contemporaries, Leibniz and Gottfried Arnold, as "living and thinking in a common atmosphere of mental (*seelisch*) independence from the authorities of the world and in pious dependence on deity. In this rests, in the last resort, their preparatory performance for historism" (p. 55). That is to say, the *scientia intuitiva* which these men have in common springs from mysticism and pietism and neo-Platonism as the cognition of God with whom the individual believer stands in a renewed and immediate connection.[4]

Such a grouping as Meinecke's, however, leaves out of account the very different sociological circumstances of the two countries: the worldly dependence of the German thinkers on their rulers and the independence which the English thinker, Shaftesbury, enjoyed as member of the British governing society, in which "dominion must naturally follow property" (p. 25). Whereas Shaftesbury is the proper voice of his own class, believing in the "natural rule of honesty and worth" (p. 19), the Continentals are state servants, enjoying positions which provide a kind of "property qualification" for their ideology. This difference one wishes Meinecke had followed up more consistently throughout. It would have elucidated more fully the special status of the salaried ideologues in Germany and Italy (Vico), who, with Shaftesbury, as he says, underwent a *Gefühlsrevolution,* a revolution of feelings. In many respects this merely turned out to be an antirevolutionary revolution, an "awakening" which reached high into the mental and ideological spheres and did not remain restricted to theological fields, as was generally the case in the American revivals. Thus in Europe were provided the elements on which to base the future historism: neo-Platonism, Protestant pietism, new esthetic feelings, new and deepened longing for contact with original or primitive mankind. This last, in a way a kind of anticonventionalism, finds in *Urgeschichte* and pre-

[4] This points to the effect of what in America is called revivalism or awakenings, the first of which took place in the 1730's. In an almost timeless way such movements, apparently pure emotion, seem to give rise to autochthonous historism or *Geistesgeschichte,* or at least to a history-concept. *Cf.* Henry Ward Beecher in 1857 in the introduction to Conant's narrative of the American revival in that year: "All the histories of the human race as yet have been external and physical. . . . Men do not know what the mind is, what are its constituent powers, what are those faculties which produce the endless results of human experience. . . . When each of the constituent powers of the human mind shall have been scientifically ascertained, its laws, its combinations, its modifications registered, then a new era will dawn upon the science of history." Cited in Davenport, *Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals,* p. vi.

history a way to discover the original and often exemplary man, a search sometimes undertaken with almost the psychological reasons of a present-day Jung. (Boulanger "wanted to free mankind from the secular fears, in which it had lived, by the uncovering of the causes thereof long since ceased", p. 201.) On the other hand, the historical thought of the eighteenth century made use of other media, those at the disposal of rationalism, in order to take possession of the historical world for the purposes of life—as opposed to mere antiquarianism—for example, the thought of Voltaire, Montesquieu, and Hume.

Voltaire's "philosophy of history" makes history combative, with "useful truths" as arms in the service of the progressive emancipation of the French bourgeoisie, whose universal *Vorgeschichte* he was forever writing, and whose enemies, survivals from a "barbaric" past, he was forever fighting (pp. 82 ff.). It was in this specific position that Voltaire began "the struggle over the interpretation of the world-historical past which henceforth accompanied all battles for the formation of the future; the latter were no longer to be undertaken without the former".

> It was Voltaire's universal merit to have installed in Occidental mankind the conviction that each new great idea is in need of an all-embracing historical foundation. . . . In the battle of ideologies, which was conducted henceforward with historical weapons, historical truth never escaped the danger of being eclipsed by the tendencies from which those ideologies sprang. And still it might console itself by finding a place for itself among indepedent spirits and so be furthered by the critical discussions between the successive interpretations of history (p. 89).

This is a lead which Meinecke ought to have followed with greater emphasis in the progress of his work but neglected in favor of other, and to him more elevating, principles of guidance which bring out the differences of history concepts but not so much their specific role in the competition of political *Weltanschauungen*.

More decidedly than Voltaire, Montesquieu endeavored to break from the historical vice which is considered the essential weakness of the Enlightenment, *i.e.*, judging the past by the standards of the present: "to inject into distant ages all ideas of the century in which one lives is the most fertile of all sources of error" (pp. 96, 166). Where Voltaire resignedly left certain episodes of history aside as senseless, Montesquieu energetically strove for that which has later been called "history as giving sense to the senseless". Nature as the force of feeling which should be granted *laissez faire* is seen germinating in Montesquieu (pp. 144 ff.), but the contradiction between nature as *cause morale*

and as *cause physique* remains unsolved (p. 152). He shows the beginnings of a relativism which admitted that truth at one time might be error at another, and that nothing but a *bonté relative* could be expected of laws.

While a complete shedding of the absolutizing thought of rationalism was not possible to Montesquieu, his political relativism may still be viewed as blasting the way for future historism (p. 159), as may Hume's psychologism—an attempt "to confirm his own picture of human nature through history" (p. 219). Despite his interest in the idea and his effort to approach the reality in an intuitive way, Montesquieu was not able to grasp the individual character of the historical personality—a concept closely related to that of development, *Entwicklung*—although he did consider the character of peoples as individualities with their own *suite d'idées*, their specific *manière de penser totale* (p. 190). Yet he and Hume are regarded by Meinecke as the thinkers who made the greatest advances, with the means at the disposal of the Enlightenment, in grasping the nature of the historical world (p. 212).

The strongest ideological-political protest against the French Revolution as the outgrowth of natural rights came from Burke, the defender of the State of "the saints and knights" against the onrush of egalitarianism and utilitarianism. Meinecke sums up Burke's judgments on human life in the concept of "world piety", "pious endurance of the world as it is, not excluding its abysses and dark sides, in the believing hope for the ultimate transcendental harmony through one's own dutiful fitting into this life, so giving sense to it". Nature thus becomes the justification and confirmation of all that has come to be; it is no longer an authority invoked for a better state of things, politically considered, which has not been attained merely because there has been an interference with nature. The nonprotesting Protestantism of Burke, in whom reappeared an old spirit of acquiescence, gave historism a rich soil of emotionalism, which Meinecke calls "vitalized traditionalism" (p. 298), a kind of pre-historism, largely because it renounced (in words, at least) the intention of arranging "the real world according to its school of opinions"—an intention which Ranke condemned in the rationalism of the new scholasticism (in his prospectus for the *Historisch-politische Zeitschrift*).

The peculiarities of a particular state in the old Reich, and a personal employment in the administration thereof, produced in the figure and thought of Justus Möser the one genius that ever arose from local his-

tory. From traditionalism as the defense of ancient rights which involved his personal existence Möser proceeded on the way toward historism by filling his whole thought and *Weltbild* with a conscious, comparing, reflecting love for the ancient quality of things (p. 331). Works on history, Möser declared, must be "produced, so to speak, by an attentive and long contemplation of the original". As Meinecke puts it: "Here is the tone of the entirely new process in historiography, composed of work consciously directed towards the original and of mental power unconsciously working alongside of it" (p. 337).

The approach is therefore through source studies and intuition (*Einfühlung*, the word is Herder's, p. 385); the method is that of "empirically grounded intuition" (p. 356). The latter was given to historism by Winckelmann, the rediscoverer of Greek antiquity for Germany; he provided "the intuitive insight (*seelische Einfühlung*) into the historical product, which the coming historism needed as its essential medium of cognition" (p. 322). This is what Ranke calls, in respect of states and other historical formations, the need for the historian "to produce within himself the compassion of their existence".

By its very nature, the bureaucratic employment of Möser, Meinecke shows, included the defense and justification of an existing order of things against the encroachment of both enlightened despotism and the bourgeois Rights of Man and led Möser to embrace the genius-concept of the *Sturm und Drang*—a claim to the æsthetico-personal liberation of the individual from the normative rules of the Enlightenment. It likewise led him to transpose and apply this concept to his own state and then to the State, which thus becomes individual and itself genius, free from the rules of reason, running irresponsibly according to its own will—the State as Superman.

Möser's emphasis on the state reveals clearly the bureaucratic character of historism. Yet his personal submission was never complete. He and others like Herder in fact nursed the bitterness of the subordinated official who possessed a higher character and a stronger mental equipment than his feudal superior (*cf.* pp. 360 ff.). Möser even considered whether once every hundred years a general revolution ought not to be provoked in the heads of mankind in order to bring about better moral conditions (p. 363). This is perhaps the pessimistic counterpart of Jefferson's optimistic desire for a wholesome revolution to be repeated from time to time. But then the frightful reality of the French Revolution restrained the hopes of the German thinkers, Möser, Herder, and Goethe.

Least harmoniously resolved of all were Herder's relations to the state in thought and personal service. Goethe tried to help Herder in Weimar to accommodate himself and his resentments to the imperfection of life in a Germany weighed down by feudal and militaristic burdens (p. 496). But Herder's disconsolate despair took refuge in outright metaphysics and in religion: The purpose of one's own life, though directed toward humanity, goes beyond earthly existence; the earth is only a training ground, our humanity merely a first exercise; the present state of mankind is presumably nothing but the connecting link of the two worlds. "If you have to, serve the state; and if you can, serve humanity" (pp. 453, 455). The state was to Herder not a living individuality as to Ranke, but a mechanism directed by ambitious and power-greedy people (p. 471). In this he is unmistakably antipathetic to Meinecke's own Prussianism.

Goethe, the harmonizer of so many unfulfilled German lives, turned his mind to history only occasionally. Of all the fields of thought he applied himself to that least systematically, though throwing off such phrases as that the writing of history is "a way of getting rid of the past" or "what is called the spirit of the time is the gentlemen's own spirit". Still Meinecke insists on including him among the creators of historism. His chapters on Goethe are the most subjective and closest to the heart and thought of Meinecke himself. If propaganda had not made misuse of the juxtaposition, we might more readily say that Meinecke tries to make a synthesis of Potsdam and Weimar, in which, we think, he puts more claims on Goethe—his dubious Friedericianism (p. 488)—than on Potsdam. Respect for the private experiences of an author forbids deeper probing into his veneration for Goethe, whom Meinecke makes completely congenial to himself, with his "conservative adaptability to given authoritarian conditions . . . to the 'reverence' for which, according to his own words, he was by disposition naturally inclined—a reverence which in his later life was to rise to the three great venerations: of that which is above us, that which equals us, and that which is under us" (p. 487). The historian of *Staatsräson* finds his own justification in Goethe when the latter says: "It is simply in my nature that I shall rather commit an injustice than to suffer disorder" (p. 557). This is indeed widely at variance with the activity of Voltaire; the latter is quite often explicable by reference to private profit inclinations, yet he continually reminds us of the blessedness of those who hunger and thirst for justice.

Goethe, as the highest and most universal resort in German think-

ing, has to help in producing a co-bureaucratic theodicy—a justification for suffering and tolerating evil and wickedness in the state, for which purpose Meinecke once wrote *Die Idee der Staatsräson*. In this auto-confrontation, so to speak, with Goethe, we see Meinecke himself at the close of a long bureaucratic experience as a teacher of history in German universities—Meinecke the teacher now more than ever in need of that auto-consolation which German thought and learning have sought and provided when excluded from even the modicum of co-governing which Liberalism grants where it reigns.[5] The same resignation prevails in Meinecke's historism, though he mildly protests against such late phenomena as Spengler's *Kulturpessimismus* (p. 612), against the complete ejection of foreign cultural goods from one's own nation (p. 591), and against the growing shallowness of life. A cry of protest which Goethe uttered in his last years, Meinecke reminds us, resounds in our ears today: "I see the time coming", said Goethe to Eckermann in 1828, "when God has no joy in mankind any longer, and He is forced to beat everything to pieces for the purpose of rejuvenating creation" (pp. 598 ff.). Meinecke seems to be as resigned as Hegel was in teaching the "List der Vernunft", which even forces unreason into its service and thus becomes "a consolation for the world and history" (p. 420). This historian, rereading Goethe, shyly identifies himself with history: "The essence of history is the battle of the deeper individuality and its need for freedom from the objective powers" (p. 489). Is this different from the crater-jump of Empedocles or "thalassic regression", as a modern German poet expresses submission and non-resistance?[6]

Comparing this double tome with Meinecke's former contributions to the history of ideas, one can detect a somewhat closer connection of idea and interest, on the one side, and society and economy, on the other. Hume is seen as a representative of a newly rising British bourgeois stratum, writing during the first stirrings of the great Industrial Revolution, when no dark shadows as yet disturbed his satisfied social consciousness (pp. 217, 237). Ferguson is shown observing the process of the division of labor introduced by that revolution, warning his contemporaries that this would lead to the utter disintegration of society, whose disjected parts would no longer be filled by the general spirit

[5] It was only seventeen years ago that Meinecke himself wrote a project of a constitution for the Reich which was then discussed at Weimar.

[6] Gottfried Benn: *Gesammelte Gedichte*, 1927, p. 188.

which ought to guide nations (p. 285), *i.e.*, foreshadowing the function of nationalism in the industrialized society. Rationalism, through the eyes of Voltaire, looking backward with as much self-confidence as it looked forward, led to the revolution in politics and historiography, to the typical history of civilization with its small regard for military and political events. Of Voltaire Meinecke writes: "One might call him the historian-banker of the Enlightenment who was administering and circulating for it the assets of world history" (p. 112). Thus the thinkers of the Enlightenment receive at Meinecke's hands a more materialistic interpretation than the thinkers of historism; Meinecke puts Voltaire, for instance, on a more material basis than Burke; he emphasizes the former's delight in earthly things not always impeccably won, in the *douceurs de la vie*, the *art de vivre* (p. 80), and yet omits reference to the *partie honteuse* in Burke's championship of ancient corruptions in Britain. This, it seems to us, is neither justice nor method.

In truth, historism, with its later emphasis on diplomatic and other state actions, may be viewed as an outgrowth of the non-revolutionary, less radical, less complete emancipation of certain groups of the European bourgeoisie, in particular the German sector. This is evident in Meinecke's work, though not explicitly stated, for he writes that the broad currents of Enlightenment in Western Europe carried emancipation even before the revolutions occurred. Yet he confesses that it was the fate of German thinkers from Leibniz to Ranke that they had to reconcile a private religion and an official religion—a division which Puritanism, for instance, does not recognize—and to lead a double life: subservience to petty conditions of existence and universal freedom in the spirit only (p. 45). Despite this haunting shadow Meinecke nevertheless makes the personal experiences and positions of the individual thinkers, rather than their socio-economic dependence and representative character, the basic influence in their thought about history: "The central ideas of a philosopher are always rooted in the depth of an original inclination (*Anlage*) of character and thinking" (p. 31). He makes them stand by and for themselves rather than in connection with groups and tendencies.

Does a false sense of *Klassenjenseitigkeit*, of independence from earthly ties, in the salary receiving bureaucrat, lead the author to preclude an extension of such materialist interpretations to the German thinkers? True, Meinecke makes quite clear their often painful dependence on the governing powers in the German states which they

served in subordinate bureaucratic positions. The degree of oppression generally stood in direct relation to the height of the *Gedankenflug*, the flight of thought; where there was no definite progress, there was always *progressus in infinitum*. But there remained that limitation in material life which led to sublimations and induced a respect for, if not a veneration of, the amoral, irresponsible State, with a "reason" and a morality of its own.

These conditions really make historism, as defined by Meinecke, an outgrowth of the bureaucratization of German intelligence, a function of the servitude imposed upon business enterprise in Germany, where its development occurred late, with the aid of only a small intelligentsia and under the dominance of a military and civil bureaucracy. This bureaucracy, though out of sympathy with the rising capitalism on which it mainly lived, did not greatly restrain the specific interests which finally got control of the Reich, namely, the heavy industries and large-scale agriculture. Historism, the product of historians in state employment, thus became, most completely in Ranke, a conservator of that hampered and limited bureaucratic ideal which prevailed in the peculiarly German conditions. Meinecke, the historian of State Reason, in truth, belongs to the penultimate generation of historians who uphold and justify by history the rule of that bureaucracy and whatever may be behind it. It is only natural and logical that his pupils, trained in *Ideengeschichte*, seek to prove the working of the race idea as early as the English Revolution of the seventeenth century. When he chides the younger ones, on occasion, he does it mildly, by merely reminding them that Montesquieu "was not ashamed of his barbarian forefathers but did not deify them" (p. 179). By other references we are led to suspect that the master bows to the pupils in giving an emphasis to the race question which we do not remember to have met in his earlier writings (*e.g.*, pp. 182 f., 258). It seems to us a stark lack of consistency for Meinecke to say that Voltaire's historiography is the "clearest spiritual mirror" of the politico-social-spiritual situation in Western Europe (p. 79) and then to treat Goethe as the absolutely singular genius whose words on history were uncontrolled by such earthly considerations and had no ideological function whatever. It is a strange rule that works only one way—against the other side.

In thus seeking to place the historism of Germany in its political-social-spiritual situation, we wish to be far removed from mere one-sided criticism. From what we have said it must be evident that Henri

Sée is superficial when he declares that German "philosophy of history at an early hour takes on the character of metaphysics" (*Science et philosophie de l'histoire,* p. 17). Such reflections betray a lack of knowledge of the structure and conditioning circumstances of German historiography. Rather is it our purpose to indicate the nature of the inner ideas and the surrounding interests intimately connected with the rise of the *Historismus* which Meinecke celebrates.

Whatever the role played or to be played by *Geschichtsphilosophie* in Great Britain and the United States, it cannot be identical with that in Germany, and superficial borrowings of phraseology are perilous in the extreme. We may have chairs in *Ideengeschichte,* as the president of Harvard has recently suggested, but if the occupants of such chairs cling to the philology of their trade and take little or no account of the interests always intimately associated with ideas, knowledge of our world and our own works in it will not be widened and deepened. Something more is required than the methodology of the author of *Die Idee der Staatsräson.* Neither the content nor the purpose nor the implementation of American historiography can be the same as that of historism in Germany or its counterpart in other countries of Continental Europe, unless we are to believe that an encompassing social environment makes no impress on written history.

III

If we put Meinecke's work in the setting of critical historiography as already developed by Continental thinkers before 1936, certain conclusions useful for practice seem to emerge. It is clear that historism as the kind of historical writing that prevailed generally about the year 1900 is merely one definition of an elusive word, although a convenient definition. It is equally evident that behind the apparently cold and carefully documented history of Ranke, accepted as "the grand type", lurked the German bureaucratic animus of the reaction against the Enlightenment. By examining carefully the above scheme (p. 468) based on Meinecke's analysis, every man as his own historian can see stereotypes of thought which the past bequeathed to the latter years of the nineteenth century and may, if he can, select his own variety from one side or both. Yet the typology of history is not complete there. Many additions, especially from economics and biology, notably Darwinism, must be placed in the scheme to bring it nearer to completeness. And

after viewing the totality of conceptions the historian may, if he can, decide whether he desires to be a maker of history after the style of the Enlightenment or a victim of it in the manner of Ranke and Meinecke. Entirely apart from such personal considerations, other conclusions emerge from the recent literature of historiography of which American scholars *vom Fach* must take note if they wish to keep up with the currents of thought in their own specialty.

There is a movement away from the use of physical and biological analogies as formulas for controlling the ordering of historical facts. By wide agreement is supported the conclusion that such analogies as "society is an organism" or history embraces "chains of causes and effects" are inapplicable to human affairs; they do not correspond with what we know to be the nature of human affairs, if we know anything at all. Whatever society may be in essence, it is not an organism corresponding exactly to any organism known to botany or biology. Whatever man may be in essence, he is not a mere physical body corresponding exactly to the substances with which physics deals. Historiography must abandon such assumptions and procedures and return to its own subject matter—personalities, events, human institutions, ideas, and interests in the time span—and employ procedures appropriate to its knowledge of its subject matter. No doubt it is difficult to escape from bondage to physical terms. Historical writings are cluttered up with such words as "brilliant", "point of view", "perspective", "well-balanced", borrowed from optics, civil engineering, or other sciences primarily physical. But if historiography is to get at the realities of its subject matter, it must firmly discard such words and employ a terminology appropriate to, corresponding to, its own subject matter. This seems to be an inescapable imperative for constructive work in historical writing.

This operation will dispose of a number of projects that have loomed large in recent historical thought. It will consign to the realm of curiosities Henry Adams's "Letter to American Teachers of History" (1910) on the "rule of phase" applied to history, in which he sought to apply a theory of general physics to history as actuality.[7] It will

[7] Henry Adams, *The Degradation of the Democratic Dogma*, pp. 137 ff. It will not escape the observation of the thoughtful that Spengler's word *Untergang* is taken from physics. Germans speak of the *Untergang* of the sun or of a ship in a storm. The English equivalent, "decline", comes from the same source. For the physical origins of abstractions, such as good, justice, and right, see P. Lafargue, *Le déterminisme économique de Karl Marx* (Paris, 1909). Consider, for example, even "idea" itself, from the Greek *eidos*,

likewise place in the realm of curiosities Oswald Spengler's *Decline of the West,* with its confusion of biological analogies and cyclical physics. That many historians will go on working under the constrictions of such analogies is highly probable. But the consensus of recent thought in historiography is to the effect that this procedure offers no prospect of attaining correct historical generalizations—generalizations corresponding to the facts in any human case. This is not to say that the use of mathematics and the statistical method will be discarded in historical inquiries, but that their limitations will be recognized at the outset. It is better to avoid defeat by not courting it than to spend a lifetime operating on an irrelevant hypothesis from which defeat must, in the very nature of things, be the outcome.

In shaking off self-imposed bondage to physics and biology historiography returns to history as actuality and to the subjective or psychological nature of the historian himself. What are in truth the phenomena of history as actuality? No satisfactory answer has yet been made. But Kurt Riezler seems to come near the truth in conceiving history as ideas and interests ever evolving in time.[8] Ideas change in the minds of thinkers through inner examination and under the impacts of interests, psychological and material. Interests, both psychological and material, change under the impacts of ideas. All this occurs in time and is history as actuality. Akin to Riezler's formulation and lending support to it is Croce's exposition of the relation of theory and practice—a theme that has so far received scant attention by American historians.[9] Theory tends to conform to practice, even though it may appear to be flatly opposed to practice. Practice tends to conform to theory, however wide the divergence. Such a thing as "pure" theory, unrelated to practice, seems to be unthinkable. Likewise "pure" practice, thoughtless deed, also seems to be undiscoverable in history as actuality. However unsatisfactory these conceptions of historical phenomena may be, we know that they conform or correspond to the phenomena of history as actuality more precisely than do the mechanistic conceptions of physics or the organismic conceptions of biology. There can scarcely be any doubt that informing researches and constructions of hypothesis and conclusion will be made in accordance with the suggestions of Riezler and Croce.

meaning aspect, physical form; *eidolon,* meaning image, shadow, phantom, idea (Lafargue, p. 54).

[8] "Idee und Interesse in der politischen Geschichte", *Die Dioskuren* (1924), pp. 1 ff. (1924), pp. 1 ff.

[9] Benedetto Croce, "Politica in Nuce", *ibid.,* pp. 14 ff.

Here we seem to be learning more about the nature of history and arriving at generalizations of supreme value for the theory and practice of historiography itself.

Coupled with the formulation of conceptions respecting the nature of historical phenomena has gone an inquiry into the nature of the historian and the intellectual operations which he performs in selecting and ordering the data of history. Here we encounter a number of conceptions far more helpful than physical and biological analogies. The idea that each historian is an absolutely unique personality, arbitrarily putting his own meaning into the meaningless chaos of historical affairs, is generally rejected. It is recognized that Goethe approached the truth when he said that what the historian calls the spirit of the times is his own spirit in which the times are mirrored. Each historian does have his "scheme of reference", or his operating conception of values, truth, and importance. In this operating conception are things deemed necessary for mankind (objective inevitability), things deemed possible, and things deemed desirable. This scheme of reference, conception, or philosophy exists in the mind or spirit of each historian, no matter how vehemently he denies its existence there. It may lie submerged in his subconsciousness, in the form of habitual assumptions, predilections, and preferences of a provincial, class, or narrow social milieu. Or it may be brought more or less fully into consciousness, clarified, widened by knowledge of philosophical, historical, æsthetic, and ethical thought. It may be little more than a naïve temper driving ahead, taking notes, and pasting them together with innocent assurance. Or it may be a judicial temper, instructed by awareness of its own predilections and the possible predilections of others and informed by wide knowledge of the possible operations of historiography. The degree of awareness thus becomes a consideration of utmost importance.

But the skepticism of historical relativity which some historians have drawn from the recognition of subjective operations in all historical constructions is checked by the recognition of the fact that there are not available as many distinct schemes of reference as there are historians. Although the number is not yet positively determined, inquiries into those actually employed in past historical writings reveal correspondences and duplications among them and indicate that both the number and character of the frames of reference are knowable. To some of them loose names have been assigned—liberal, fascist, and communist, for example. Every historian is more or less bound by what a French writer

calls *les cadres sociaux de la mémoire.*[10] And the number of social orders is limited. One of the supreme tasks of contemporary historiography is the further exploration of this field of social psychology.

But it may be said that if there is no one scheme of reference established as eternally valid and supported as indisputable by universal consensus of competence, we are back to relativity again. We are; but it is a limited relativity, not a chaos; and at the same time we are emancipated from the illusion of the absolute truth of history. Given any scheme of reference chosen, whether liberal, fascist, or Marxian, there may be scrupulous and critical use of sources and facts and, so far, a degree of scientific exactness. No reader need thus be taken off his guard by a pretension to perfect objectivity, something which does not exist. Assuming that it could exist, it could take merely the form of pure contemplation or negation; for the choice of themes in history and of facts within the theme is an act of will, preference, and valuation, at least to some extent.

What then becomes of the historism of the type under which the historian imagined himself able to know history as it actually had been? That philosophy, for such it was while denying philosophy, has been wrecked beyond repair. It can no more be recovered than the posture of ideas and interests of the year 1900 can be restored. The idea of history as an actuality fully structured over against the observing historian has been correctly characterized as cryptometaphysics. Fundamentally this idea made out of history as actuality a kind of idol whose form and aspects could be discovered by assiduous searching and note taking. The idol has been shattered, and its devotees are powerless to put it together again. At the same time the unlimited relativity which imagines that there are or can be as many schemes of reference or historical conceptions as there are human beings has been destroyed as incompatible with knowledge, and in its place has come a limited relativity containing comparatively few schemes of reference; and these few are not conceived as absolutely antithetical but as possessing some common features and as open to practical testing in the movement of history as time unfolds. Moreover the idea of relationships in historical reality, the consequential ordering of them in a certain coherence, has been continued and strengthened; and the belief that, by the consensus of critical competence, much of this ordering can be positively established

[10] C. Bouglé, *Bilan de la sociologie française contemporaine* (Paris, 1935), reviewed by A. Koyré in the *Zeitschrift für Socialforschung*, 1936, *Heft* 2, pp. 260 ff.

and known has been continued and strengthened. What may be called the broad outlines of historical development have been more firmly established, and the details are being more surely filled in, but without illusions as to the possibility of *knowing* the totality. The old contest between "immanence" and "transcendence" has been continued, and from the side of history it has been clarified by the increasing resort to *Ideengeschichte*, the sociology of ideas and knowledge, and the sociology of philosophy. Yet historiography has not contemplated and does not contemplate a break through into pure metaphysics.[11]

The crisis in or transformation of historiography has not led to an abandonment of the method of historism in the sense used by Heussi. It has not restored intuitionalism. On the contrary, respect for the facts of experience and association has been deepened. It is still true, as was said long ago, "no documents, no history". Knowledge is still to be obtained by the methods of bibliography, scrutiny, authentication, and verification. But the range of historical interest has been widened until it reaches toward the very borders of culture in all its manifestations. It no longer concentrates on military, political, and diplomatic events; even they are being related to corresponding economic and cultural events in significant efforts to get at their origins, nature, and meaning. In a literal sense contemporary historiography finds nothing human alien to it, and this is no mere gesture of generosity. It grows out of the quest for the utmost truth—the quest that leads necessarily into all forms and manifestations of human life. If historians had not taken the turn for themselves, anthropologists would have forced it upon them. At all events all those realities of life connected with the biological and cultural relations of the sexes, families, the continuance, care, and elevation of life come more and more clearly into the scope of historical concern, as population studies, biological researches, and biometric investigations of genius, character, and family traits press further into the deep sources of those physical and moral energies upon which the stability, continuity, and progress of societies so heavily depend. The method of critical historism remains, while awareness of its limitations deepens. The range of its interest widens to the fullness of its subject matter—history as actuality.

Historiography so conceived no longer offers to economists, sociologists, and anthropologists the "dry husks" of military, political, and diplomatic events as the completeness of written history. On the con-

[11] This summary is based in part on Heussi, pp. 102-104.

trary, equipped with a method that commands respect and reaching out for wider knowledge, historiography penetrates all specialities and reveals more clearly to them the all-encompassing medium of history as actuality. Slowly it dawns in contemporary consciousness that historiography so conceived furnishes such guides to grand public policy as are vouchsafed to the human mind. They may be frail guides, but what else have we? The public policy of each country turns in part upon the posture and trends of world events. On them historiography so conceived is bound to report. The public policy of each country turns in part upon the posture and trends of domestic events. On them historiography so conceived must report. If its reports are meager, inaccurate, partial, haphazard, and marked by fear, negligence, and indifference, so much the worse for grand public policy. If they are full, accurate, comprehensive, systematic—the fruits of tireless industry and a bold conception of historical obligations—so much the better for grand public policy. Even when they repudiate it, deny it, and seek refuge in the dust of analytical philology, historians have a public responsibility: the kind of history they write, whether good or bad, helps to make history in spite of their protests, in spite of their efforts to escape from the outcome of their own labors. As the fullness of their responsibility unfolds in the consciousness of historians, historiography will rise in the estimation of those who serve it and of the society which it serves, for weal or woe.

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NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty

AN UNOFFICIAL INTERPRETATION OF ARTICLE VIII IN 1869

For over half a century the policy of the United States government in regard to transit over the Central American isthmus was dominated by the legal obligations of two treaties, the treaty of 1846 with New Granada (now Colombia) and the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850 with Great Britain. In the former, in return for commercial privileges and a guaranteed freedom of isthmian transit the United States gave guarantees of both the "perfect neutrality" of Panama and of New Granadan sovereignty over it. In the second treaty Great Britain and the United States promised each other to seek no exclusive control over a projected Nicaragua canal but, instead, to seek an international guarantee of its neutral use and to "extend their protection, by treaty stipulations, to any other practicable communications" elsewhere on the isthmus.[1]

The equivocal language of the eighth article of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty could be interpreted to be an agreement to extend, by future treaty, the same sort of protection for Panama as that undertaken for Nicaragua, or instead, to give whatever guarantees seemed adequate, whether more or less inclusive than those deemed appropriate for Nicaragua. Since the United States government, in the treaty of 1846, had guaranteed even New Granadan sovereignty over Panama, in addition to the "perfect neutrality" of the isthmus, it might be contended that the obligations of Article VIII had been anticipated by the United States so far as Panama was concerned, and that Great Britain had yet to meet them. On the other hand the British government could insist that in extending its protection, a guarantee of New Granadan sovereignty over the isthmus was more than Great Britain could be obliged to give, and that in return for less sweeping pledges British subjects should receive equal treatment in Panama transit. Since, moreover, the last article of the treaty of 1850 declared its object to be the extension of

[1] Treaty of 1846, Article XXXV, in *The Statutes at Large and Treaties of the United States of America*, George Minot, ed. (Boston, 1851), IX, 898-899; treaty of 1850, Article VIII, *ibid.*, p. 997. For the origin of Article XXXV in the treaty of 1846, see Joseph B. Lockey, "A Neglected Aspect of Isthmian Diplomacy", *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLI, 295-305.

the "general principle" animating the provisions concerning Nicaragua, ground was thus furnished for a protest by the British against any claims to special United States privileges in Panama on the basis of guarantees exceeding the standard of the later treaty with Great Britain.

The British government repeatedly refused to guarantee the sovereignty of New Granada over Panama. In 1862 it avowed its purpose of preventing seizure by the United States of the Panama Railroad, but it entered into no treaty engagement.[2] The most it would ever undertake to guarantee was that Great Britain itself would *respect* Colombian sovereignty over the isthmus.[3] The government of France was at no time prepared to assume a position beyond that of Great Britain in Central American transit matters, so that the United States, contrary to President Polk's expectations,[4] remained the sole guarantor both of the neutrality of the Panama transit and the sovereignty of Colombia over that area.

As time passed, the United States government developed the position that as guarantor it should enjoy privileges beyond those set forth in the treaty itself, privileges essential to the proper discharge of its obligations. It sought to secure for United States citizens the preferred opportunity to construct a ship canal, negotiating with Colombia in 1869 and 1870 two successive unperfected treaties to that end. In each, as part of the return, Colombia was pledged to grant no other canal or railway concession without United States consent.[5] But by 1880 the necessity of its consent was declared to rest upon the logical implications of its responsibilities as guarantor and to require no further stipulation. The recent grant by Colombia of the "Wyse concession" was criticized severely for having been made without the proper consultation.[6]

Secretary Evarts asserted that the construction of the Panama Canal by Lesseps's company would greatly increase the burden of the United States as guarantor under the treaty of 1846. He tried in vain to obtain for his government the right to fortify the isthmus and to give or with-

[2] Instructions to Philip Griffith, Dec. 16, 1861, no. 75; Griffith to Lord John Russell, Mar. 3, 10, 1862, nos. 17, 21, Foreign Office 55/153, 165A.

[3] Copy of Russell to Cowley, Apr. 9, 1865; Instructions to Baron Goury du Roslan, Aug. 9, Oct. 11, 1865, Jan. 31, 1866, Archives du ministère des Affaires étrangères, Correspondance politique, Nouvelle Grenade, vol. 17.

[4] James D. Richardson, ed., *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, IV, 511-513.

[5] Article III of the treaty of Jan. 14, 1869, and Article VI of the treaty of Jan. 26, 1870, *Senate Documents*, 56 Cong., 1 sess., no. 237, pp. 47, 53-54.

[6] Evarts to Dichman, Apr. 19, 1880, no. 107, *ibid.*, pp. 469-473.

hold consent to all transit concessions.[7] His proposals, embodied in the protocol of a treaty, later to be negotiated, were abruptly repudiated by the Colombian government, which had determined to obtain the guarantee of the principal maritime powers instead of the somewhat overbearing protection of her North American neighbor. This change in policy evoked Secretary Blaine's "high-pitched" circular note of June 24, 1881, denouncing a joint European international guarantee, if attempted, as "an uncalled-for intrusion".[8] The British government declined invitations from Colombia and France to lead a movement for a collective European guarantee; instead, Lord Granville replied to them, as he did to Blaine, that his government was satisfied with the way in which the Clayton-Bulwer treaty controlled the matter.[9] Thus was raised the question of how, if at all, the equivocal language of Article VIII of that treaty and the more explicit language of Article XXXV of the treaty of 1846 could be reconciled.

In the prolonged exchange of notes which ensued, Blaine and Frelinghuysen attacked the Clayton-Bulwer treaty from every angle suggested to them by ingenuity and the current concept of national interest. The latter insisted that the treaty of 1846 placed the United States in "a peculiar relation to the means of transit by railroad or canal across the isthmus . . . which cannot justly be superseded by the intervention of other states without the consent of the United States, duly and properly obtained. . . . No provision of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty . . . authorizes Great Britain to invite, or obliges the United States to accept, the aid of other nations to protect or to guarantee the neutrality of the Panama route."[10] The United States government thus asserted that the position of the United States as sole guarantor for over thirty years was not fortuitous but attributable, rather, to the exclusive character of the protective relationship she had assumed.

This controversy of 1881-1883 was not the first occasion when the Foreign Office raised the issue of the relationship of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty to Panama in an effort to restrain the United States. In 1869, even before the terms of the treaty negotiated with Colombia in that year were known, Sir Edward Thornton reminded Seward that they might contravene Article VIII, and Seward had the British promptly presented

[7] See records of the negotiations, *ibid.*, pp. 473 ff.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 380 ff.

[9] Confidential Print, "Correspondence respecting the construction of a canal across the Isthmus of Panama", pt. I. Jan., 1882. F.O. 115/693.

[10] *Sen. Ex. Doc.*, 47 Cong., 1 sess., no. 194, pp. 22, 25.

with an examination copy as soon as the treaty was signed.[11] Assured by the law officers of the crown that the article requiring prior consent by the United States to future transit concessions tended to hinder rather than encourage their development, the Foreign Office instructed Thornton to request an explanation. He asked the new Secretary of State, Hamilton Fish, if the United States government did not consider that provision to be "in contradiction to the spirit at least of the eighth article of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty".[12]

Secretary Fish, after looking into the matter, "unofficially communicated" to Thornton "a paper . . . drawn up . . . by Mr. E. Peshine Smith, who is employed in the Department of State as Examiner of Claims; Mr. Fish added that the paper contained the general views of the United States government upon the matter".[13] The memorandum is as follows:

Bureau of Claims

April 15, 1869

Darien Ship Canal

It is referred to me to examine the third article of the proposed Darien Ship Canal Treaty with Colombia, in connection with the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, and report if there be any conflict.

The treaty with the United States of Colombia, signed January 14,th 1869, after providing for the survey and location of an interoceanic ship canal anywhere within its territory, provides in the third article as follows:

"Art. III. The United States of Colombia stipulate and agree not to undertake or allow the opening of any other interoceanic canal or of any new railway through or across their territory from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean without the express consent of the United States of America being first obtained." The existence of one, the *Panama,* railway is recognized in the treaty and provisions made for securing the rights of the company owning it.

The treaty with Great Britain of April 19, 1850 (9th Statutes 995) recites that the two Governments were desirous of setting forth and fixing in a convention their views and intentions with reference to any means of communication by ship canal which may be constructed between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans *by the way of the river San Juan de Nicaragua, and either or both of the lakes of Nicaragua or Managua* to any port or place on the Pacific Ocean. The first seven articles of the treaty relate only to such a canal and obviously have no reference to any canal which may be constructed within the territories of Colombia. The eighth Article, however, declares that: "The Governments of the United States and Great Britain having not only desired, in entering into this convention, to accomplish a particular

[11] Thornton to Clarendon, Feb. 15, 1869, no. 46, F.O. 55/248.

[12] Clarendon to Thornton, Mar. 27, 1869, no. 71; Thornton to Clarendon, Apr. 19, 1869, no. 146, F.O. 55/248.

[13] Thornton to Clarendon, Apr. 19, 1869, *ibid.*

object, but also to establish a general principle, they hereby agree to extend their protection by treaty stipulations to any other practicable communications, whether by canal or railway, across the Isthmus which connects North and South America and especially to the interoceanic communications, should the same prove to be practicable, whether by canal or railway, which are now proposed to be established by way of Tehuantepec or Panama." The discrepancy between the Clayton-Bulwer treaty and the recent one with Colombia, if any such exists, must be found in the articles just cited.

It is to be remarked in the first place that the obligation created by the third Article of the treaty with Colombia rests exclusively upon that Republic, which not being a party to the Clayton-Bulwer treaty cannot be guilty of a violation of it; and if it could, it would not concern us, except, as being accessory to such violation, we might contravene obligations which this Government had assumed to that of Great Britain. The most we have done is to make the construction of more than one canal and the existing railway across the Isthmus impracticable without the consent of this Government. That consent we are at all times at liberty to give, if good faith or policy shall require it.

I can see no other discrepancy between the two treaties than in the supposed effect of the latter one to prevent the construction of interoceanic routes of commerce, which would be otherwise practicable, and may be supposed to be contemplated by the Clayton-Bulwer treaty; but I do not think that the agreement between this Government and that of Great Britain —that they will "extend their protection by treaty stipulations to any other practicable communications whether by canal or railway across the Isthmus," imports anything more than that they shall give to such communications, when established and in operation, the same protection which they stipulate to extend to the specific route through Nicaragua which was the principle [*sic*] subject of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. That protection consists in the engagements of both Governments to defend the persons and property employed in making said canal from unjust seizure and violence and protecting the canal itself when completed from seizure and confiscation and guarantying its neutrality and security.

Our stipulations for protection, neutrality &c, in the recent treaty with Colombia are in *fulfillment* of the obligation we contracted to Great Britain by the eighth article of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. That obligation being reciprocal, the effect of the article seems to be to entitle us to call upon Great Britain to unite in guarantying such protection and neutrality.

I conclude that there is no present conflict between the two treaties. If one can arise, it will be when a third canal or railroad across the territory of Colombia being proposed, and the Government of Colombia being willing to allow its construction, this Government, invoking the third article of our treaty, shall refuse its consent, and thus obstruct the enterprise. I do not concede, nor think, that we will be bound to grant our assent; but it is sufficient that, if such be our obligation, we have done nothing to impair our ability to discharge it. The construction of one canal and of one railroad is doubtless to some extent an obstruction to the undertaking of other canals or railroads, for they must divert a large portion of the traffic and commerce upon which such new enterprise would rely for its support. But the specific object of the eighth article of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was to promote the

construction of practicable interoceanic communications across the Isthmus and the partial fulfillment of that purpose certainly cannot be in conflict with the spirit of the article.

E. Peshine Smith

Examiner &c

When the treaty of 1869 had been rejected by the Colombian senate,[14] a new United States representative at Bogotá, General Stephen A. Hurlbut, negotiated a second treaty. It contained not only the substance of the article discussed in the Peshine Smith memorandum but other provisions clearly designed to confine to Colombia and to the states which guaranteed her sovereignty over the Isthmus of Panama certain special privileges of transit.[15] "In entire frankness and friendliness", a copy of the instrument was put in the hands of the British chargé d'affaires at Bogotá for transmission to London, even before the final formalities of signature.[16] It prompted a succession of protests, based upon Article VIII of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, by Sir Edward Thornton to Secretary Fish. Fish twice excused himself from discussion with the plea that he had not read the treaty and, subsequently, that the treaty was certain not to be ratified by the United States.[17]

Evarts's efforts to reach a new treaty with Colombia permitting the United States to fortify the isthmus in 1881 were so promptly repulsed by Colombia that there was no occasion, and scarcely any opportunity, for renewed British protests. But in the controversy of 1881-1883 the Foreign Office used all possible ammunition to repel the argument of the United States government that the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was both obsolete and voidable at its pleasure. They recited Buchanan's benediction of 1860[18] to show that the early troubles had been cleared up as the United States desired. And they brought out the Peshine Smith memorandum to show that in 1869 the United States government not only considered the treaty in force but even as warranting a demand upon Great Britain to afford protection to the canal then proposed.

[14] Sullivan to Fish, Mar. 15, 1869, no. 119, Department of State, Colombia, vol. 27.

[15] Articles XI and XXV, *Sen. Doc.*, 56 Cong., 1 sess., no. 237, pp. 51-61.

[16] Robert Bunch to Clarendon, Jan. 29, 1870, no. 7, F.O. 55/249.

[17] Clarendon to Thornton, Feb. 26, Apr. 29, 1870, nos. 63, 156, F.O. 115/500, 502; Thornton to Clarendon, Apr. 4, 11, nos. 126, 137, F.O. 115/507; Thornton to Granville, Sept. 12, no. 369, copy in F.O. 135/102, and Oct. 10, no. 402, F.O. 5/1195.

[18] "The discordant constructions of the Clayton and Bulwer treaty between the two Governments, which at different periods of the discussion bore a threatening aspect, have resulted in a final settlement entirely satisfactory to this Government." Richardson, ed., *Messages*, V, 639.

A copy of the Smith memorandum was sent to Mr. Sackville West on December 30, 1882,[19] and submitted by him to the Department of State on February 10, 1883, with a query whether there would be objection to its official use. A few days later Frelinghuysen repudiated the paper because it was unrecorded at the Department of State, where no one even remembered it, and because "Mr. Smith was not a political officer of the Government and had no authority to make utterances committing it in the least."[20] Subsequent investigation has failed to find in the department's archives any form of this memorandum other than a copy of the British copy. The original was given to Mr. Thornton and is now among the archives of the British Legation in the British Public Record Office.[21]

Other British arguments made no impression upon the United States government at this time. Frelinghuysen persisted in his position that "the United States esteem themselves competent to refuse to afford their protection jointly with Great Britain to any other persons or company, and hold themselves free hereafter to protect any interoceanic communication in which they or their citizens may become interested in such way as treaties with the local sovereign powers may warrant and their interests may require".[22] When this assertion of policy was made, the train of negotiations had already begun which led to a clear repudiation of the first seven articles of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty in a convention with Nicaragua signed at Washington on December 1, 1884. Its withdrawal from the Senate by President Cleveland before final action upon it was a definite departure from what had been the general direction of United States isthmian policy since 1869. For some fifteen years more the conflicting provisions of the treaties of 1846 and 1850 were to remain unchanged.

George F. Howe.

The University of Cincinnati.

[19] Granville to West, Dec. 30, 1882, no. 345, F.O. 55/291.

[20] State Dept., Notes to Great Britain, vol. 19, pp. 201-202.

[21] F.O. 55/493.

[22] Frelinghuysen to Lowell, May 8, 1882, *Sen. Ex. Doc.*, 47 Cong., 1 sess., no. 194, p. 24.

DOCUMENTS

Anglo-American Relations, 1853-1857

British Statesmen on the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty and American Expansion

The private papers of the fourth Earl of Clarendon, British secretary of state for foreign affairs, 1853-1858, are an invaluable source for the study of Anglo-American relations. They contain scores of letters revealing what British statesmen thought and showing in detail how they formulated their policies toward this country during those important years. These letters comprise: (1) weekly, and sometimes more frequent, communications to the foreign secretary from the two British ministers in Washington, John F. Crampton and his successor, Lord Napier—letters which were secret, sometimes sent by special messenger, and paralleling the regular dispatches; (2) letters exchanged among the members of the government and also occasionally letters from important individuals on the outside, such as Sir Henry Bulwer.

Below are eight letters, or parts of letters, and two memoranda, selected from this collection to illustrate this exchange of ideas respecting the conduct of British policy toward the United States during the two Democratic administrations of Franklin Pierce and James Buchanan. The central topic of discussion was the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, though the underlying problem in the relations of the two countries was plainly a deeper one.

The third selection below is an undated memorandum prepared about August 1, 1854, by Lord Clarendon in answer to Minister Buchanan's representations in favor of a withdrawal by the British from the Mosquito territory, the Bay Islands, and that part of Belize south of the boundary of 1786. It offered, in return for American co-operation under the treaty, concessions more sweeping than those actually secured by the United States after six added years of futile dispute, for it conceded the American demands *in toto*, but it was shelved.

Lord John Russell was particularly solicitous concerning the widening gulf between the two countries and was the author of a serious proposal to send a special mission to Washington. But this idea was laid aside in favor of a waiting policy, largely at the instance of the Earl of Aberdeen, supposedly the most friendly of British statesmen to

America. Numbers IV to VI, comprising letters of Granville, who was lord president of the council at the time, of Graham, the first lord of the admiralty, and of Aberdeen, the premier, reveal some of the considerations that impelled this action.

It is generally believed that after the rude dismissal of Minister Crampton on May 28, 1856, by President Pierce, there was a fundamental change of heart on the part of British statesmen toward American expansion.[1] But plainly the letters in this collection show no intention whatever of altering British policy in this important matter. Numbers VII to X are letters of Lord Palmerston himself, written in 1857, and they dispel all doubt as to what that great statesman really intended. The truth is that Palmerston had already made his decision seven years before, when he consented to the Clayton-Bulwer treaty,[2] and there was nothing further of a basic character which, as a practical British statesman, he could concede.

Lord Napier, the new and rather youthful minister sent to Washington in February, 1857, did indeed write rather too enthusiastically to his superior in favor of a British blank check to American expansionism.[3] A vital part of this problem was the recurrent question of Cuba, whose supposed destiny as an American acquisition boded only evil to the older heads at Westminster. To them, furthermore, the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was the chief anchor because it threw a barrier

[1] Richard W. Van Alstyne, "John F. Crampton, Conspirator or Dupe?" *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLI (Apr., 1936), 492-502. A. P. Newton, "United States and Colonial Developments, 1815-1846", in A. W. Ward and G. P. Gooch, *The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy, 1783-1919* (Cambridge, 1923), II, 277. J. Fred Rippy, *Latin America in World Politics* (New York, 1928), pp. 103-105.

[2] R. W. Van Alstyne, "The Central American Policy of Lord Palmerston, 1846-1848", *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XVI (Aug., 1936), 339-359.

[3] Napier to Clarendon, May 26, 1857, no. 80, Foreign Office 5/671. This is a long dispatch arguing warmly in favor of the proposed American annexation of Cuba. Clarendon's terse initialed comment, dated June 30, 1857, on this dispatch reads: "This has remained so long without an answ[r] that it is perhaps not worthwhile to answ. it now, & I have told Lord N. privately that we altogether differed with him." An interesting comment on Napier by Senator Sumner reached the foreign secretary through the Duke of Argyll: "His desire to please", wrote Sumner, "leads Him to share sympathies, personal & political. He accepts the Democratic dogma or 'Dodge' in Kansas & talks as glibly as the President on popular sovereignty & the right of the Settlers to establish Slavery if they see fit. Sir W. Ouseley is clearly in a different mood. Before leaving, I had talked plainly with Ld. Napier. I respect entirely all the *Convenances* of His position as Minister & am glad to have Him keep on good terms with the Administration. But I do not like to see Him giving them his head & heart. Indeed it is not pleasant to find the influence of His talk against us." Quoted by Argyll in a private letter to Clarendon, Jan. 19, 1858, Clarendon Papers.

across the American southward advance. Adjustments they were willing to make, provided they could be effected in the proper manner. But the underlying principle of balance laid down by the treaty they were chary of surrendering.

Richard W. Van Alstyne.

Chico State College.

I Crampton to Clarendon

Private. Washington. 7th Feb. '53.

. . . this matter of Cuba is one which involves very serious considerations for us,—and one which I think is now come to such a point that we can no longer avoid looking it in the face and making up our minds as to what we are to do or not to do about it. The question, as you truly observe, involves Peace or War, or, at all events a risk of war. The step we have already taken in proposing the Tripartite Convention puts us, as it seems to me, in a dilemma from which there is no escape—namely—that we must either take a step further in the same direction by making, in conjunction with France, a declaration to the United States similar to that which the United States has made to us, that we cannot allow them to take Cuba;—or that we must take a step backwards or rather out of the whole business, and tacitly admit (for our silence will be deemed equivalent to this) Mr. Everett's Manifest Destiny Doctrine, and make up our minds to see Cuba annexed to this Country at a time more or less distant, as I entirely agree with you will infallibly be the case unless *we prevent it.* Now, if we adopt the first of these two courses, we must not blink the fact that it would engage us to go to War under certain future contingencies, and also that the brunt of that War would fall upon our Shoulders—for in what disposition France might be when the "Cassus Belli" should occur, who could tell? besides which, as you have observed, even if France were with us, it is clear that by far the greatest part of both the fighting and of the commercial loss would fall to our share. Now I do not at all wish to say that a War would be the inevitable result of such a Declaration on our part, or that it would of itself prove a general irritation in the United States followed by an attack on Cuba;—my impression is that nothing of the sort would take place:—there would be a good deal of swaggering, no doubt—but scarcely more than there is now,—all I mean to say is that if we do not make the Declaration, we must look "occuli irretorto" at the possibility of a brush with our friends here, and *be ready* to hit hard and sharp at the very beginning of such a contest if it did occur. If, on the other hand, we hold our peace now, we certainly remain free to act or not to act when the aggression is made or appears imminent,—and we can reserve to ourselves the power of judging whether under all the *then* existing circumstances of the case, it best suits our Policy or our means to resist or to acquiesce in it. The disadvantage of this course however seems to me to be that as things now stand, it would give a direct encouragement to the aggression itself;—for now that by the offer of the Tripartite "self-denying Convention" we have clearly intimated to the United States our *strong desire* that Cuba should not fall into their hands, and have been answered by a declaration that they will and *must* take

it whenever they can (for Everett's Note amounts to this) our omission to make any rejoinders to the effect that we will oppose them to the best of our abilities, will amount to or, at all events will be taken to amount to an admission of the utter hopelessness of any such attempt on our part to obstruct their designs, or, in other words, that we are *afraid* to engage ourselves to run the risk or make the sacrifice which would be necessary for the purpose. It would be immediately laid down as a "fixed fact" that the United States would find nobody in the field against them but Spain in the matter of Cuba, and I need not say that the picking of a quarrel with Her would then be very rapidly determined upon and easily effected.

There is another point of view, however, in which I think the question of Cuba is to be looked upon:—this is as a part of the more general question of aggression and domination of the United States in every part of this Continent; and in this regard it may be worth while to consider whether in case the attempt to check this is to be made at all, whether the point of Cuba is not as good a point to make a stand upon as any other. As an illustration of what I mean, I would call your attention to the case of the Sandwich Islands. I am not sufficiently versed in such matters to know in how far the neutrality of those Islands is essential to our commercial interests in the Pacific;—but I know that the Americans have an eye upon them, and that they will lie more exposed to a coup de main than even Cuba. The United States have now a strong point at San Francisco and California is rapidly developing. I am convinced that the Japan Expedition is intended to result in the acquisition of some permanent establishment there. An American exploring Expedition has also been dispatched to go up the River *Amur* which runs from the Russian Possessions to the Sea through the Northern part of China, a piece of curiosity which I have reason to know the Russian Government by no means approves of,—so much so that that Government which is now beginning to turn its attention to the Commerce of the Pacific, has made a sort of semi-overture to me, thro' an Agent they have just appointed to the Sandwich Islands, as to the expediency of their joining us and France in an agreement to maintain their neutrality. With regard to these Islands you will recollect that the United States have held to us exactly the same language as with regard to Cuba, viz, that they will *not allow* us to become possessed of them, declining to make any renunciation of them on their own part. These things are, I think, worthy of consideration, and the point of time seems to me to have come when it behoves us to come to a determination as to whether these aggressive plans are of such vital importance to our Interests as to oblige us to resist them, or whether it would be more prudent to let things take their course rather than pre-engage ourselves to any particular course in regard to them.

In connection with this subject, could the consideration of what is called the "Monroe Doctrine", which the Democratic Politicians here are so busy in preaching and inculcating, and which it is now the fashion to *assume* as an admitted principle of Public Law from which the right of aggression and domination on the part of the U. S. on all parts of this Hemisphere is deduced as a sort of corollary. The enunciation of this doctrine amounts to nothing less than an attempt to establish a principle of Public Law applicable to this Quarter of the World analagous to that prevailing to a certain extent in Europe:—with this difference however, that while in Europe such

principles were established with the consent and by the agreement of all the Parties concerned and consigned in solemn Treaties: here the attempt is made to lay down a Law of a much more sweeping nature by the ipse dixit of a single power over two whole Continents and the adjacent Islands, not only without the agreement of the other Powers who hold them but notoriously contrary to their wishes and Interests, and in a manner inconsistent with their Independence. By eternal repetition this so called doctrine is gradually becoming in the minds of the Democracy here one of those habitual maxims which are no longer reasoned upon but felt, and any imagined "violation of the Monroe Doctrine" is now vehemently taken up as a just reason for a peremptory demand for satisfaction from any Foreign Power who may have committed it. Now altho' I know that a great deal of this language is held for *home* political purposes, each Party outbidding the other in its offers of "Americanism": still it cannot be denied that a very dangerous effect is produced upon the Masses by such doctrines, and it becomes a very grave question what position Foreign Powers ought to adopt in regard to them. It seems to me quite clear that if carried out to their full effect, we should be forced to resist them *somewhere*, and the question remains as to the point at which it would be advisable to make a stand.

All these considerations would give an impression of a very dangerous state of things: but I think nevertheless that there are two checks upon which we may generally concede as preventing the agressive spirit of this People being carried to extremes. The one is the inextinguishable struggle between the North and South, Free States and Slave States: it insinuates itself into every part of their proceedings; discussions begun upon subjects apparently the most remote, invariably degenerate into Northern and Southern Squabbles:—the subject once set agoing, everything else becomes indifferent:—all unity of action is paralyzed:—Foreign Relations are forgotten or made subservient to the paramount question of the maintenance or dissolution of the Union. The other is the real injury to the material and commercial interests of a practical and moneymaking people which they are perfectly aware would result from a serious quarrel with England, or even from the risk or expectation of such a quarrel. Their preparations for War are small, and they know they could not begin one in a hurry. . . .

II Bulwer to Clarendon [4]

Mar. 1854.

. . . . . .

Central America is no longer what it was & is daily becoming the most important spot of earth in y^e^ whole world: to us especially with Australia [and] New Zealand in our hands & the Chinese empire falling to pieces. We cannot, we must not see it American, I mean belonging to the U. S.—When I negotiated my treaty 3 states Honduras, S. Salvador, Nicaragua were asking to be annexed & probably if the treaty is thrown over & the U. S. allowed to have their own way, first these 3 states & then the others perforce will ask for annexation.

[4] After Buchanan had opened negotiations with Clarendon over the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, the foreign secretary invited Bulwer to draft a reply. The latter took full advantage of the invitation, and numerous letters from him respecting the treaty occur throughout the collection.

We should then come into the field late.—There are 2 policies now—One to endeavour to regulate the affairs of C. A. in harmonious & friendly conjunction with the U. S. [;] the other to establish a counterpoise to them.

The 1st is doubtless the best, if it were only on the ground that the Govt. wd. be better supported at home for people are not yet up to the importance of the interests of the stake.

But the second is possible. Guatemala the largest & richest state in C. A. inclines to us. C. Rica the best governed & most reasonable does the same: these 2 states with B. Honduras & the Mosquito Coast give us truly the whole of one side of C. America. I would then endeavour by every conciliatory means to pursue a conciliatory course in the first instance but I wd. be prepared for another & I wd. let the U. S. understand this gently—& I wd. also thro' the Press—without bringing up the Mosquito question—have the importance of C. A. and its connexion with our trading interests brought more & more to the attention of the Public. . . .

III Memorandum by Clarendon on the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty [5]

Lord Clarendon declines, at least for the present, to reply to those points in Mr. Buchanan's Statement of July 22, 1854 in regard the Construction of the Convention of the 19th April 1850, in which they have had the misfortune to differ; because it would seem that the difference between them on these points is irreconcilable. He is happy, however, to observe that they are in perfect accord respecting the wise and liberal commercial policy which the Convention was intended to establish. In order to carry this into effect it is clear that the British and American Govts must act in concert and harmony. Through their influence and exertions all existing differences between the Central American States should be adjusted and peace and harmony restored to that distracted region. This is essential to the security & development of the commerce of the Nations and indeed of all Nations passing in Transit on different routes across the Isthmus. Without such an adjustment enterprising individuals will not feel sufficiently secure to invest their capital in opening the best and most practicable routes, whether by railroads or canals across the Isthmus; and the agreement of the two Govts to extend their protection to all such communications will have been made nearly in vain.

For want of proper concert between the two Govts. they have not yet even take the first step towards procuring the establishment of the two free ports, one at either end of the Nicaraguan Canal, contemplated by the Convention.

The British Govt impressed with these truths is willing to go far in removing every obstacle out of the way and in giving complete and immediate effect to the wise and liberal commercial policy of the Treaty. They have not the slightest desire to acquire territory in Central America. It has for some time been their avowed intention as it is their present purpose to withdraw from the Mosquito Protectorate and from any political connexion with the Mosquito Indians, but whilst doing this they feel that their honor is served in obtaining from the State of Nicaragua a reasonable extent of

[5] The memorandum is undated, but internal evidence and its position in the collection show that it was prepared about August 1, 1854, when the news of the American bombardment of Greytown had not yet reached London.

territory for the occupancy of these Indians, in such a position, however, as not to interfere with any of the great routes of transit across the Isthmus. They are perfectly willing that this territory shall be occupied by the Mosquitoes, subject to the Sovereignty of Nicaragua on the terms and under the restrictions correctly stated by Mr. Buchanan to have been practised both by the British and American Govts. towards the Indians within their respective jurisdictions. They, therefore, invite the Govt. of the United States to exert its good offices with Nicaragua in accomplishing this purpose, so that they may withdraw [from] the Mosquito Territory with the least practicable delay. This the British Govt have already done so far as respects the Port and Hrbour of Greytown because the possession of these by uncivilized Indians would be incompatible with the construction of the Nicaragua Canal and the interests of the transit commerce across the Isthmus.

Great Britain has no interest in insisting nor does she intend to insist upon the claim to any portion of Central America or to its adjacent Islands, with the single exception of the Belize Settlement with the limits and on the terms in which it was granted to her by the Treaties with Spain of 1783 and 1786 and subsequently recognized by the Republic of Mexico. She makes this disclaimer in order to smooth the way to the immediate fulfilment of the transit & commercial clauses of the Convention in which her interests are seriously involved. In fact the grant of a local Govt. to the inhabitants of Ruatan & the other Bay Islands was made only on their own earnest petition and was sincerely intended to afford them temporary protection and restrain them from committing acts of violence in an unsettled Quarter of the world where the interest of British Commerce required that peace & good order should prevail.[6] Whenever the State of Honduras shall be in a condition to relieve them from these duties, their possession will be yielded without hesitation to that State. . . .

IV Granville to Clarendon

Oct. 18, 1854

As long as the Govt. of the United States think it necessary to strengthen themselves at home by showing their teeth abroad, all unsettled questions are dangerous, and may lead unexpectedly to fatal Results. A war arising out of the protectorate of the Mosquitos between America and England would be a frightful calamity.

Nothing would lead so infallibly to such a result as to show at a moment when we are engaged in a European struggle the slightest dread on our part of the bullying disposition of President Pierce and his party. Our tone must be firm, and what you and Graham did about increasing our Naval Forces in the American seas must be useful.

V Graham to Clarendon

Oct. 24, 1854.

We are fast 'drifting' into a War with the U. States; and I am afraid that on the Grey Town and Central America Question we shall not have France on our side; whereas with respect both to Cuba and S[t] Domingo, France will be disposed to make common cause with us, at least up to a

[6] This sentence is a veiled reference to the menace of an American filibustering attack to which the British government felt the islands were exposed.

Point just short of War. But a rupture between us and the United States is the diversion which Russia anticipates in her favor and anxiously desires.

In these circumstances we must be on our guard; and if a quarrel be inevitable, the S[t] Domingo and Cuba Ground is better and safer than Grey Town and the Musquito Protectorate. . . .

VI Aberdeen to Clarendon

Blackheath Nov. 5th 1854.

My dear Clarendon

Lord John [Russell] mentioned to me his notion of sending Carlisle to Washington, in the hope of settling our differences with the United States; but I confess that I think the proposal is open to a good deal of objection. No doubt, the Mission would be agreeable to the United States Government; but I doubt if they would be likely to yield more than to an ordinary negotiator. What you say is true about the difficulty of giving instructions suited to meet the actual state of affairs arising from the aggressive tendencies of the U. S. Government. My great objection to the Mission is the time at which it will take place. We cannot send Carlisle, and allow him to return *se infecta*. We must settle everything, or we must quarrel. Now, we dare not quarrel; and the alternative is concession. In ordinary times, I should not object to Carlisle's making a graceful concession of the matters in dispute; for I believe our right to be very questionable and the importance of the subject to be much exaggerated; but under the pressure of the present moment, our motives would be intelligible to the whole world.

The principal subject in dispute is the interpretation of the Bulwer-Clayton Treaty, which can be quite as well, or better discussed here than at Washington.

Our protection of Mosquito rests on usage; and if it should be formally resigned, of course it would be necessary to stipulate for some terms for these Indians from the State of Nicaragua. I apprehend however that the great difficulty would not be on account of the Indians, but a certain number of English, or rather Scotch adventurers, who have obtained for a gallon of brandy, large grants of land from a drunken Savage whom we have thought fit to call a King.

I looked into this subject five and twenty years ago, and I never could discover on what pretext we made San Juan, or as we now call it, Greytown, a part of the Mosquito territory. As for the Bay Islands, our title is little better than manifest usurpation; and it is worthy of the Government of the United States. Still, this is not the moment to abandon these claims; for it is very clear that the concession is made to Russia, and not to the United States alone.

. . . . . .

We may hope to enlist France on our side in dealing with the settlement in St. Domingo, and the transfer of the Sandwich Islands. These are questions in which they are as much interested as we.

I should think the people of the United States were not actually desirous of quarreling with us; and I would carefully avoid quarreling with them. But I would contrive to hang up all matters in dispute by means of civil negotiations for some indefinite period, and would make no concessions at this moment, if it could be avoided.

VII PALMERSTON TO CLARENDON

(Memo.) June 6, 1857

This Despatch[7] is not written with the good sense & judgment which naturally belong to Ld Napier; It is evidently the detailed Exposition of views arguments & opinions instilled into him by the Govt and others in the United States It is a Tissue of Fallacies & Sophistries. It tries to place on the narrow ground of Shopkeeping Considerations a Question which involves in its ultimate space the jeopardy of valuable possessions of the British Crown in the West Indies, and increased Danger to our floating Commerce as to the argument that Concession as to Cuba would secure to England the permanent goodwill or future Forbearance of the United States, this is the worn out argument used by the Mouth Pieces of the Americans at each step of Encroachment on their Part This was to be the Result of the Concession made to them by the Ashburton Treaty This again was the motive urged by the Oregon arrangement. This is now put forward about Cuba and this would be repeated when successive Proofs of our weakness & Gullibility shall have encouraged them to demand our North American Provinces

I think Napier should have a Hint to cast one Eye at least to the Eastern Shores of the Atlantic and to remember that he has not become a Naturalized Citizen of the Union

Moreover besides British Interest there is good Faith to Spain not to be lost sight of

P. 18/6/-57

VIII PALMERSTON TO CLARENDON

4 July 1857

. . . . . .

Napier takes a narrow and limited view of the Results of United States Extension, and forgets that we have West Indian Colonies; as to propitiating the Yankees by countenancing their schemes of annexation it would be like propitiating an animal of Prey by giving him one of ones travelling Companions It would increase his Desire for similar Food and spur him on to obtain it

. . . . . .

There can be little Doubt that in the Course of Time the AngloSaxon Race will spread far South in America, but it is for our Interest that this Should not happen until the Swarms are prepared to separate from the Parent Hive

IX PALMERSTON TO CLARENDON

14 Oct. 1857

It is perhaps doubtful whether Honduras and the other States of Central America really wish us to give up the Bay Islands. If they were wise they would wish us to keep them. In our Hands those Islands can never become a Place d'Armes for Buccaneers. In the Hands of Honduras they may at any time become so, because the Republic of Honduras has no navy to cope with the ships from New Orleans, and can never station in those Islands a

[7] No. 80, by Lord Napier, May 26, 1857. See n. 2 above.

Force able to resist a Walker Invasion. It is therefore morally certain that not long after those Islands are made over to Honduras whatever may be the Conditions of the Cession they will be occupied by United States Pirates, and become a starting Point for an Invasion of Central America, and it is probable that it is this view of the matter which makes Buchanan so desirous of getting us out of those Islands. He has a Hedge against us and against Central America. If we keep the Islands (unless indeed Honduras were to disclaim them as Part of the Honduras Territory) he abrogates the Clayton Bulwer Treaty and deems himself free to do what he likes in Central America; If we make over those Islands to Honduras his Filibusters will after a decent Interval take possession of it, and from thence be let loose to do what they will in Central America. This comes of the silly claim put forward by the Central Americans to those Islands, & this might confidentially and verbally be explained to them. . . .

X PALMERSTON TO CLARENDON

Broadlands 31 Dec^{r} 1857

My dear Clarendon

These Yankees are most disagreeable Fellows to have to do with about any American Question; They are on the Spot, strong, deeply interested in the matter, totally unscrupulous and dishonest and determined somehow or other to carry their Point; We are far away, weak from Distance, controlled by the Indifference of the Nation as to the Question discussed, and by its Strong commercial Interest in maintaining Peace with the United States. The Result of this State of Things has been that we have given way Step by Step to the North Americans on almost every disputed matter, and I fear that we shall have more or less to do so upon almost every other Question except the maintenance of our own Provinces and of our West Indian Islands—I have long felt inwardly convinced that the Anglo Saxon Race will in Process of Time become Masters of the whole American Continent North and South, by Reason of their superior Qualities as compared with the degenerate Spanish and Portuguese Americans; But whatever may be the Effects of such a Result upon the Interests of England, it is not for us to assist such a Consummation, but on the Contrary we ought to delay it as long as possible.

The Clayton Bulwer Treaty opposes a barrier to North American advance, by stopping the Yankees out of Central America, and therefore they all hate and detest the Treaty. It fetters them and makes them halt. If we were quite sure that the Treaty could be permanently kept in Existence, and that it would be honestly observed I should be inclined to say let us stick to it, even at the Sacrifice of those Points of Difference as to its Interpretation on which the United States insist But the Yankees are such Rogues and such ingenious Rogues that it is hardly possible to hope that even if the present Questions were settled to their liking by the abandonment of the Bay Islands and of Mosquitia and of part of our Honduras some new Cavils would not be found, or at least that by the indirect agency of such men as Walker & his followers some independent North American State would not be established in Central America, in alliance with the United States if not in Union with them, in short Texas over again. . . .

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL AND ANCIENT HISTORY

Philosophy and History: Essays presented to Ernst Cassirer. Edited by Raymond Klibansky and H. J. Paton. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1936. Pp. xii, 360. $8.50.)

In honor of the sixtieth birthday of Professor Cassirer twenty-one essays, most of them contributions from Continental Europe, are here assembled in English dress. They are followed by a bibliography of Cassirer's writings, an index, and a list of subscribers. The theme of the collection, as announced in the preface, is the relation between philosophy and history, a theme suggested by the union of the two fields in the works of Professor Cassirer and "to be found alike when, as a historian of philosophy, he is retracing the development of the theory of knowledge and when, as a creative and systematic thinker, he offers us his doctrine of civilization in *The Philosophy of the Symbolic Forms*". "The variety of approaches to this subject", the preface continues, "may at first sight seem rather disconnected." To this a reader is likely to add that, on some fundamental issues, the different approaches seem to quarrel rather violently with each other. The preface adds that "if the main problem is seen from very different angles and attacked in the most disparate ways, this very fact may serve to illustrate" Nicholas of Cusa's maxim: *Una veritas in variis signis varie resplendet.*

In dealing with the main problem, creative thinking plays almost exclusively upon data furnished by philosophy and the history of philosophy and thus, in effect, reduces the relation between philosophy and history to a relation between philosophy and the history of philosophy. There is abundant speculation that touches the foundations of history in general, there are definitions of history in general, there are pieces of specialized historical research and construction which may be accepted as examples of how history in general ought to be written, but philosophy and the history of philosophy, both including, of course, the philosophy of history, dominate the scene.

Una veritas which shines for history in general, but not always brightly, is the subjectivity of history. A certain subjectivity in history has long been suspected by writers on historical methodology, by naïve common sense, and even by historians, but without the profound background supplied by such analysis and definition as may be found in the present volume.

The initial essay, "A Definition of the Concept of History", opens with a rather mild subjectivity. The author examines the definitions by Bernheim and Bauer, finds both too narrow, and offers a definition which seems to

him more inclusive. "History", he writes, "is the intellectual form in which a civilization renders account to itself of its past" (p. 9). This does not mean, as the language might imply, that the only history is what is in our heads. The author expressly admits to his definition "every form of historical record" (p. 10) and thus grants reality to something outside of our heads. Even the past, as it stands in the definition, might be taken as something real, something distinguishable from the "account" to be rendered, a something that might justify our English word *history* in continuing to embrace within its meanings the past itself. So far the author does not go. "No past is ever given. Tradition alone is given. If tradition were at any point to make the total reality of the past accessible to us, still no history would result; or rather, then least of all. . . . History is always an imposition of form upon the past, and cannot claim to be more" (p. 5). The past has reality, but it is not history, and subjectivity is saved. In several other connections, subjectivity is indicated, notably in calling attention to the fact that "the definition restricts the subject-matter of history to the past of the civilization in which it is rooted" and adding in parenthesis: "It must be understood that a civilization which embraces the whole world in its desire for knowledge sees in the whole world the reflection of its own restricted past" (p. 10).

In most of the other essays in which the nature of the past is relevant to the discussion the past is granted no reality apart from present thinking. The most emphatic and the most detailed setting forth of this view is in the essay by Gentile on "The Transcending of Time in History". The writer's reasoning is too intricate to be safely summarized, but among his numerous striking statements are the following: "Historical fact (*res gestae*) is not presupposed by history (*historia rerum gestarum*)" (p. 95). The metaphysical theory of history demands for historical truth "something external to the thought which knows it, and this external object, since it conditions thought, is presupposed by it and precedes it. It is the *past*. . . . Yet the past *is* not; as beside the actually existing it is no longer, it is dead. Long ago or just this moment it has given place to what is now being done. It is beyond our apprehension" (pp. 95, 96). "Historical science, priding itself on the 'facts,' the positive and solid realities, which it contrasts with mere ideas or theories without objective validity, is living in a childish world of illusion" (p. 99). "In truth, facts, as a realistic theory of history imagines them . . . are absolutely nonexistent" (p. 99). "For one who takes his stand on historical realism and believes in independent facts, the whole world of history can have no more solid reality than the abode of shadows through which Dante's imagination roams" (p. 103). If the historian thinks as he should, he must be aware of "the 'subjectivity' of the facts that interest him" and know "well enough that the life and meaning of past facts is not to be discovered in charters or inscriptions, or in any actual relics of the past; their source is in his own personality" (p. 104).

The title of one of the essays, "On the Objectivity of Historical Knowledge", while noncommittal, might suggest a possible antidote to the extreme views of Gentile, but the most that comes out of it is that "*objectivity* of knowledge, in the sense of a stripping off of all relations to the peculiarities of the knowing self, does not lie within the sphere of the historian" (p. 157). Such, in varying forms, is the general conclusion to which the speculation points wherever the issue is raised, with, perhaps, one sympathetic nod in a different direction (see p. 24). But nowhere in the volume is this held to lower the dignity of history or to detract from its importance. Quite the reverse.

Several times in the course of the various discussions the relation of the historian to his own time and its influence in shaping what he writes is made a text for homilies which any competent historian will endorse as utter commonplaces. As for the degree of subjectivity in historical facts, its significance does not leap to the eyes in the admirable specimens of historical research and construction which the volume itself contains. Among these specimens are the two essays entitled "Veritas Filia Temporis" and "Et in Arcadia Ego". The origin, variations, meanings, and pictorial representations of these phrases are traced with minute scholarship and are accompanied by photographic illustrations. Both essays were presumably written with due awareness of subjectivity, but of the actual presentation the most pronounced historical realist now "living in a childish world of illusion" might well say: "That is exactly the way historical facts look to me."

In the discussions of time, of determinism and freedom, of continuity and discontinuity, of change, of causality, and, in general, of the philosophy of history, called in one place "the darling vice of the nineteenth century" (p. 30), there is much to tempt historians with constitutional prejudices against philosophy to further exploration of the boundless realms opened by the volume.

The subscription list at the end of the book is made up almost entirely of philosophers and libraries. From this a reader may infer either that very few general historians received advance notice of the project or that very few of them were sufficiently interested to subscribe. To be of greater interest to philosophers than to historians is likely to be the fate of the volume. Whether such a fate is or is not deserved may be an open question. Mr. Alexander, preparing "to sit at the feet of history" for light on philosophy, remarks: "I am not going to ask what history may learn from philosophy. I have no doubt it may learn a great deal. Just as men of science are returning to the good old days when philosophy and science went hand in hand, and are ready to acknowledge that the two meet at many points, and that each may learn from the other, so it may be that historians may listen with profit to philosophers. But that is the business of historians" (p. 12). So it is.

Columbia University. HENRY JOHNSON.

Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Historisch Instituut te Rome. Tweede Reeks, Deel V; Deel X. Uitgegeven vanwege het Departement van Onderwijs, Kunsten en Wetenschappen. (The Hague: Algemeene Landsdrukkerij. 1935. Pp. lvi, 96; 211.)

RESEARCH on the activities of Dutch painters and scholars in Italy is naturally an important part of the program of the Netherland Historical Institute at Rome, witness the appointment of Dr. G. J. Hoogewerff as its director, for his special field of study is the history of Dutch painting. Volume V of the institute's second series of publications contains two contributions from his hand on Dutch artists of the sixteenth century. One deals with Hans Keynooch, known to historians of art through Carel van Mander, who calls him a painter of landscapes in the manner of Patinir. Dr. Hoogewerff is the first to identify three such landscapes as works by Hans Keynooch. One of them bears the signatures of Keynooch and Hieronymus Wellens de Cock, who was a younger brother of Keynooch's master, Matthys Wellens de Cock. The latter was a much greater painter than his pupil, as is evident from the two magnificent landscapes reproduced in this volume. These belong to a set of four which Dr. Hoogewerff convincingly ascribes to Matthys. In the other article the director of the institute prints a few documents from notarial archives in Rome, relating to the affairs of a Brabant painter of miniatures, Frans van de Kasteele, who died in Rome in 1615 as an octogenarian. A study of papal documents of the fourteenth century has led Dr. R. Post to the conclusion that Geert Groote, the famous founder of the Brotherhood of the Common Life, had a namesake among his contemporaries, who was also a native of the diocese of Utrecht. This other Geert Groote was an illuminator, employed for many years by the monastery of Chaisedieu in the diocese of Clermond-Ferrand.

The institute, however, does not confine itself to the history of Dutch art and letters. Archaeological research in Italy and the Netherlands also claims its attention, and one of the most interesting articles contained in this volume, from the pen of Dr. H. M. R. Leopold, discusses the geographical and economic causes of the genesis of Rome. In another Dr. G. van Hoorn describes bronze statuettes of Jupiter excavated in Utrecht and identified by him as importations from Gaul. And the Austrian scholar Hermann Eggers traces the history of the alterations by which the campanile of the old church of St. Peter in Rome was transformed from its original shape, which was destroyed by lightning in 1352, into the cupola-crowned structure, which dates from the year 1610.

The other volume, the tenth of the series, is a collection of brief synopses in French of all the articles that have appeared in the preceding nine volumes, followed by a general index of proper names. It gives a bird's-eye view of the wide range of interests that is covered by the research sponsored by the Netherland Historical Institute at Rome.

Columbia University. A. J. BARNOUW.

Die Satrapieneinteilung in Syrien und im Zweistromlande von 520-320. Von Oscar Leuze. [Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft.] (Halle: Max Niemeyer. 1935. Pp. viii, 320. 20 M.)

Through a strange paradox, our information on the history of the Achaemenian Persian Empire, and particularly on that of its provincial administration, is derived primarily from Greek sources. The minute analysis of the pertinent passages in the works of Greek historians, from Herodotus to Diodorus and Curtius Rufus, presented in this posthumous volume of Oscar Leuze is therefore welcome to historians of antiquity. A number of assumptions presented glibly in the standard histories of Persia are shown to be based on uncritical reading of the Greek sources.

Leuze investigates the satrapies of the Persian Empire, with particular attention to Syria and Mesopotamia, during the successive periods for which some evidence is available: under Cyrus and Cambyses, 546-521, under Darius I, 521-485, in 401, in 350, in 345-340, under Darius III, 338-333, under Alexander and after his death, 333-320. The bulk of the volume deals with the reorganization under Darius I and with conditions in the time of Alexander.

The only valuable source for the division of the empire into twenty satrapies (twenty-one if the district of Persia is not omitted) during the reign of Darius I is Herodotus, III, 89-97. Herodotus is mistaken in dating this reorganization at the beginning of the reign of Darius; although the exact date is unknown, it cannot be earlier than 516. According to Leuze, Herodotus obtained his information directly from Persian officials; the question, however, as to whether the list of Herodotus represents the conditions of the time of Darius or those about the year 450 is left open. Unquestionably the order of the satrapies in Herodotus (1-6 west of the Euphrates; 7-20 east of the Euphrates) is his own, rather than that of the Persian administration; through an oversight, Leuze has failed to notice the ingenious reconstruction of the original order of the satrapies made by E. Herzfeld (*Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran,* I, 95) on the basis of the Persepolis inscription "e" of Darius, which is discussed by Leuze (pp. 91 ff.). In a general way, the Euphrates was the border between satrapies 5 (Syria) and 9 (Mesopotamia). Leuze believes that Abrokomas was satrap of Syria in 401 rather than Belesys, as maintained by Lehmann-Haupt and Kahrstedt, and that the list of *archontes* in the Anabasis of Xenophon (vii, 8, 25) is a forgery of no value for the history of the Persian satrapies. Equally if not more worthless for the historian of Persia is the Periplus of Pseudo-Skylax. Leuze is inclined to believe that Mazaios rather than Arsames was the satrap of both Cilicia and Syria from 345 to 333 and, at least nominally, of Syria until 331, when Alexander appointed him satrap of Babylonia; he held this office until his death in 328.

The investigations of Leuze are characterized by great caution, accuracy, and sound criticism. Many of his objections to Edward Meyer, Lehmann-

Haupt (article "Satrap" in Pauly-Wissowa), Kahrstedt, and other scholars are well taken, although not seldom he refuses to commit himself to a positive view. The volume is very useful in matters of detail; however, after thirty-five years, Meyer's classical history of Persia in the third volume of his *Geschichte des Altertums* is still unsurpassed.

Harvard University. ROBERT H. PFEIFFER.

A History of the Greek World from 479 to 323 B. C. By M. L. W. LAISTNER, Professor of Ancient History in Cornell University. [Methuen's History of the Greek and Roman World, General Editor, M. Cary.] (London: Methuen and Company. 1936. Pp. xv, 492. 15*s*.)

OF the three volumes assigned to Greece in the Methuen series the last appeared first, the first is yet to come, and the second is now in our hands. It covers the greatest age of Greek achievement. This is at the same time the age which has been described and interpreted most fully in modern times. To write a distinguished book on Greece from the Persian wars to the death of Alexander the Great is accordingly doubly difficult.

Laistner writes soberly, critically, with scholarly competence—and without enthusiasm. "Dispassionately considered", he affirms, "the political history of the Greeks during the fifth and fourth centuries makes sad reading." Viewed teleologically this may be the case, and a similar judgment on the political and military history of modern times has equal justification. Yet the historian runs the risk of doing less than justice to the ardor and sincerity and intelligence of the combatants in field and forum if he writes with a conviction, which they could not share, of the ultimate futility of their efforts. Thucydides knew better.

Laistner devotes over two thirds of his book (Part I) to political and military history and the remainder (Part II) to essays on general topics: warfare, the government of the city-states, economic life, art, language and literature, science and philosophy, religion. Readers who are likely to use the book will doubtless find these chapters most interesting. Each covers the field of what is really a special discipline; hence a historian who treats them all, summarily, and a reviewer who assesses his product, are both in a delicate position. To me the first of these essays is the best, the last the least adequate. Symtomatic, perhaps, of the author's relative unfamiliarity with the literature on Greek religion is the inclusion in his select bibliography of Mommsen's *Feste der Stadt Athen* instead of Deubner's *Attische Feste*. I am troubled also by the repeated designation of the Eleusinian Mysteries as the Eleusinia. Toepffer's *Attische Genealogie* contains too many instances of the reservation of public cults to specific *gene* to justify the statement that "such survivals . . . were probably few in classical times" (p. 463); and evidence now in our possession, some of which Laistner could not know, suggests that most of the old public cults were administered by gentile groups

in the fourth century. The priestess of Athena Nike, who received 50 drachmae a year, not a month (p. 463 n. 3), held a new charge and hence was chosen from "all Athenian women".

The reservation to Part II of the history of culture accords with the general plan of the series (*cf.* Cary's *History of the Greek World from 323 to 146 B. C.*) and, of course, is not without justification. But it has at least one serious disadvantage in Laistner's assignment. The reader is through with Alexander the Great before he is given more than an inkling of the true greatness of Periclean Athens. The materials which, if integrated and knit closely with the triumph of democracy and imperialism, would have permitted a comprehensive account of the idealism, strenuousness, versatility, pride of power, piety, cruelty, and capacity for self-restraint and personal sacrifice, combined with self-assertion in speech and living, characteristic of the Athenians when they led the Greeks and the Greeks led the world, are withheld to the end of the narrative and then divided among seven chapters. It seems to me that the method of presentation followed by Eduard Meyer in his *Geschichte des Altertums* (strangely missing in the bibliography) is better calculated to achieve the desired result. K. J. Beloch, whose general procedure in his *Griechische Geschichte* is that of the Methuen series, recognizes the desirability of linking action and general achievement at this time by introducing his *Kulturgeschichte* before describing the Peloponnesian War, even though by so doing he gets ahead of his narrative.

Harvard University. W. S. Ferguson.

The Life and Times of St. Ambrose. By F. Homes Dudden, Master of Pembroke College, Oxford, Canon of Gloucester. Two volumes. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1935. Pp. x, 370; 371-755. $14.00.)

By this biography Canon Dudden, author of *The Life and Times of Gregory the Great,* which is still the best work on the subject in the English language, has rendered a new service to all those who are interested in the investigation of the early development of Western Christendom. The author does not claim to have made new discoveries or to present a portrait of the famous bishop of Milan from a new angle; he has only "endeavoured to give a complete account in the light of the results of the latest historical research of Ambrose's life and work and teaching" and "to describe some of the more remarkable features of the history, life and thought of the West in Ambrose's time, i.e. in the second half of the fourth century".

In general the chronological order is followed, with frequent digressions to describe at length the religious, social, and political background of Ambrose's activities. Canon Dudden has not only gone over, and very thoroughly, the whole extensive literature on Ambrose and made use of the more recent publications, such as that of J. R. Palanque (*Saint Ambroise et l'Empire romain,* 1933), now adopting and now, though seldom, rejecting

his conclusions as to chronology, or interpretation of documents, but has also made an exhaustive study of the writings of St. Ambrose and quotes largely from them or refers to them in notes on almost every page of his book. No less useful to many will be the presentation in a systematic form of Ambrose's thoughts and theories on ethics and theology, which the author has put together from his various writings. One wonders, however, whether this systematic exposition of Ambrose's theology from scattered exegetical, homiletical, and even epistolary considerations, comments, and exhortations does not make his teaching appear more uniform, consistent, and precise than it was in fact. Ambrose was not a great thinker; after his election to the bishopric of Milan he had to improvise his theological education by absorbing rather hastily writings of the Greek Fathers and especially of the Cappadocian group, whose theories and opinions he followed so closely in his treatises (mostly written in homiletic form), as to justify the sharp remark of Jerome that Ambrose, like the crow of the fable, was wearing feathers not his own. Canon Dudden has refrained from going into the question of Ambrose's theological sources, a subject that would have forced him to add perhaps one more volume to his long biography, and wisely refers his readers to the many and valuable books on the various aspects of Ambrose's doctrines, the complete list of which is to be found in the accurate bibliography at the end of the second volume.

It might be remarked, also, that sometimes Canon Dudden takes too literally, though always with reservations, certain utterances of Ambrose which at first sight sound like original and startling statements of theological or social principles, but which, if set against the homiletical and literary tradition to which Ambrose belonged, appear in their true light of conventional or even commonplace motives of ecclesiastical oratory. To this class belongs, for instance, what Canon Dudden calls "Ambrose's idea of a socialistic community, wherein all things will be at the disposal of all", which is suggested by several passages of the *De officiis* and of other exegetical and homiletical works. The use of the term "socialistic", which carries definite modern connotations, is rather unfortunate in connection with Ambrose's theories. As a matter of fact, Ambrose's statements that "nature poured forth all things for the common use of all men", that "God meant this earth to be the common possession of all men", and that *avaritia iura possessionum distribuit* are neither new nor startling if we understand them in the light of the current patristic ideas about Adam's state of perfection before the Fall. If under the Christian dispensation men are urged to realize, as far as possible, the ideal conditions of the golden age, at the same time they are urged to preserve the institutions made necessary by the presence of sin. Hence, to urge Christians to consider all things of nature as being made for all, did not mean to encourage stealing or to advocate a socialistic community, any more than to urge them to live in solitude, chastity, and prayer

meant to preach anarchy or race suicide. Denunciation of riches as an impediment to virtue was a common theme in Stoic ethics as well as in Christian moral exhortations and homiletical traditions. Ambrose's terrifying description of the perils of the sea to which greedy merchants expose themselves is little more than a rhetorical amplification of a literary motive familiar to the readers of Horace, Tibullus, and Seneca.

Harvard University. GEORGE LA PIANA.

Seven Books of History against the Pagans: The Apology of Paulus Orosius. Translated with Introduction and Notes by IRVING WOODWORTH RAYMOND, Assistant Professor of History, Columbia University. [Records of Civilization, General Editor, Austin P. Evans.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1936. Pp. ix, 436. $4.50.)

THE first complete translation of Orosius supplies a longfelt need. The introduction is brief but useful. The discussion of chronology, however, is confusing and could have been made clearer by rearrangement; by an unlucky misprint (p. 17) the birth of Christ is dated 75 A. U. C., instead of 752. The account of Orosius's significance as a historian takes too literally the statement in IV, 5 that his account of the miseries of the past is original; Florus and Justin, both prominent among his sources, gave ample precedent for showing the seamy side of history. The notes give brief chronological and historical data, generally accurate. Note 28, on II, 14, page 93, overlooks the importance of the Sicilian slave risings, to which the "rule of slaves" evidently refers. The index, confined to names and events, is not reliable.

Much of the translation is sound and readable; the translator has wisely not tried to endow Orosius with high literary merit. But more thorough revision was needed; both the Latin idiom and the historical sense are often distorted in the renderings given. Proper names are carelessly handled; the *scalae Gemoniae* appear as the *Germonian* steps in the translation (VII, 8, p. 336) and as *Gerronian* in the index; a single river in Africa is spelled *Bagrada* (p. 170), *Bagradus* (p. 171 n. 26), and *Bagradas* (p. 192 n. 98). Anglicization of proper names and of Latin terms is also inconsistent. The task of breaking down long periods into reasonable English sentences is generally well handled, but in a few cases the point has been lost in the process. An example is V, 23 (p. 257), where the boast that Spain never let an alien tyrant who attacked her escape with his life is changed to the false statement that no man who attacked her from without ever escaped.

Actual errors in translation are too numerous for complete listing here. A fairly reliable test is that of sense: when a phrase seems contradictory, illogical, or pointless, the fault is usually that of the translation. Space permits only a few examples. In the Dedication (p. 31) the force of *sub* is overlooked and with it an important feature of Christian eschatology: the world-

wide distress expected in the period *just before* the coming of Antichrist. In Book I, 2, pp. 36, 39, 44, *generaliter* is used of the name given to a district as a whole, not of one "generally" or "usually" employed; in 9, p. 55, the people of India wished to enjoy their native quiet (*vernacula quiete*), not the "quiet lives of slaves". In Book II, 9, p. 85, *quinquennium* means five years, not fifteen years; and in the same book the fine description of Rome after the Gallic sack (19, p. 104) is badly garbled. In Book III, 7, p. 118, the prophecy that the Jews in Hyrcania would someday "burst forth" (*erupturos*) is interpreted in the sense of migration caused by overpopulation, thus obscuring Orosius's hint of the identity of the "lost tribes" with the "enclosed nations" beyond the Caspian Gates; and in 19, p. 137, Heracles settled these tribes, but did not write about them. In Book IV, 13, p. 179, *obligamentum magicum* means a binding rite, not "a resort to magic, which was obligatory". In Book V, 6, p. 218, the physiology of the Siamese twins needs a more accurate translation; in 18, p. 243, the Roman toga was a dignified, but not a "graceful" garment. In Book VI, 21, p. 315, the embassies "shed Alexander's glory on Caesar"; they did not simply talk to the new conqueror about his predecessor's achievements. In Book VII, 43, p. 398, the final sentence is garbled: the books "must be adjudged to you, if you decide to publish them; they have received your judgment, if you destroy them".

Chicago. EVA MATTHEWS SANFORD.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Geschichte der Klostergründungen der frühen Merowingerzeit. Von LEO UEDING. [Historische Studien.] (Berlin: Emil Ebering. 1935. Pp. vii, 288.)

As a catalogue of important Merovingian monasteries with the details of their foundations, this work is valuable. The sources from which information is gleaned are discussed fully for each monastery. Much of the data, as would be expected, is to be found in documents of questionable authenticity. For the most part, Ueding threads his way carefully through the maze, relying only occasionally on accounts to be found in chronicles of later date (*cf.* pp. 27, 29-30, 82-83).

The most striking departure from conventional learned opinion is Ueding's contention (pp. 32-46) that although Merovingian bishops possessed the right to maintain religious discipline over monasteries in their dioceses, they exercised little or no legal supervision. He goes so far as to assert that the consent of a bishop to the foundation of a monastery in his diocese was not an absolute prerequisite and cleverly demonstrates the antithesis between actual practice and conciliar decrees insisting on episcopal consent. I have no quarrel with either of these conclusions. But inasmuch as they are in opposition to opinions well entrenched for three hundred

years, mention or even discussion of the prevailing points of view would not have been out of place. Ueding is particularly open to criticism here since he adduces no new data for his conclusions, drawing them from material used by his opponents with precisely opposite results.

The author indicates that this is to be the first part of a larger study. It may be that this volume is to form the factual basis for those to come. Had such been his intention, Ueding would have been wise to confine this volume to factual presentation. His handling of sources on the whole is good, but his interpretation is weak and in several instances is lacking in understanding of the problems involved. For example, the short chapter on proprietary monasteries gives no indication beyond a quotation from Ulrich Stutz of the complex nature of private foundations (pp. 245 ff.). The author's excuse, that the chapter on royal monasteries pictured the status of proprietary monasteries, is not valid. Royal monasteries enjoyed *ipso facto* royal immunity, which privately owned monasteries did not possess *in se*. Many of them were granted the right to elect the abbot, a privilege not enjoyed by the majority of episcopal or private monasteries. On the other hand, private monasteries, especially in the Visigothic kingdom, may have been withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the diocesan in a fashion impossible to a royal monastery (*cf.* Hefele, *Histoire des conciles,* 1907, II, 1064). Also, in his discussion of episcopal monasteries, Ueding is apparently confused by the administration of monasteries as part of the domain of a bishopric and by the appointment of abbots by bishops as a matter of routine (pp. 83-90). Yet if we are to believe Lesne, toward the end of the seventh century the custom developed whereby owners, by an act of *traditio,* placed monasteries under the protection of the bishop (*Revue historique de droit français et étranger,* 4th ser., III, 8). In theory such monasteries belonged to the bishopric, and bishops might grant them to third persons in benefice. So popular did this practice become that by the end of the Merovingian period episcopal monasteries outnumbered all except royal monasteries. So far as the appointment of abbots by bishops is concerned, there is reason to suspect that this was by far more prevalent in the Merovingian period than election by the monks, Fustel de Coulanges and Loening to the contrary notwithstanding.

Yet flaws of interpretation should not blind readers to the fact that this is a useful book.

Columbus. HELEN ROBBINS BITTERMANN.

The Serjeants of the Peace in Medieval England and Wales. By R. STEWART-BROWN. [Publications of the University of Manchester.] (Manchester: University Press. 1936. Pp. xi, 149. 10*s.* 6*d.*)

THIS able monograph is one of the best contributions which has yet appeared to the history of English local institutions prior to the latter part of the thirteenth century. The writer has demonstrated the existence and de-

scribed the work in the English counties of the western and northern borders and in Lancashire of a special class of peace officials who held their positions by serjeanty. In Chester the palatine earl had a master serjeant of the peace. Here and in Lancashire and Shropshire there were serjeants set over the various hundreds, and in Cheshire at least the earl's barons also had similar officials. Similar usage is traced also in the Northumbrian baronies. The existence of hereditary bailiffs of hundreds in various parts of England, demonstrated by Miss Cam, and the common use of the word *serviens* to describe a bailiff have diverted attention from the peculiar nature of the peace serjeants.

These serjeants were entitled to food while on duty and various other contributions from the men of their respective communities. They were called *grith* serjeants, a name which in Cheshire at least suggests that the special peace which they maintained was that of the palatine earl. They supervised some activities which bear Old English names. Some are mentioned at least once in a document apparently older than the Norman Conquest. The author makes the justifiable deduction that the serjeants are derived through a process of specialization from the Anglo-Saxon radmen of the western districts, the thegns of Northumbria.

This discovery is notable and the exposition of the serjeant system admirable. Moreover, it is definitely shown that there was no frankpledge in Cheshire. With some of Mr. Stuart-Brown's views of origins there is room for difference of opinion. In assuming that this peace magistracy existed because of the lack of frankpledge he seems to go too far. The frankpledge system included only humble men, the "villans" of the Norman period, and did not preclude other police devices. Pursuit by hue and cry was usual where frankpledge existed and in the thirteenth century at least even where it did not exist, notably in Northumberland and even in Cheshire. The use of the sheriff's posse was also common in non-frankpledge areas of the north.

The reviewer questions the theory that the serjeant system in the west palatinates was established because the earl was a sort of universal *borh* for peace observance. The fact that his serjeants had the right to food rents is an unconvincing form of proof. Forest serjeants enjoyed similar rights in northern regions where *borh* could hardly affect the situation. The law of Canute requiring every man to be in hundred and in *borh* was not enforced prior to 1066 in the north or between the Riddle and the Mersey. No hundreds existed there and almost certainly no *borh*. Here the energetic action of Norman barons will account for the serjeant system. The rule of Roger the Poitevin between the Ribble and the Mersey and the customs of radmen speak for themselves. Is it not best to suppose that the palatine earls of the western border assumed the same amount of initiative without the novel assumption that they stood as universal *borh* to their men? The earl's pecu-

liar position with reference to the king's peace in the Domesday Customs of Chester and the fact that the palatine earl had his own peace are facts of broader significance for the rise of peace serjeanties than his relation to the suretyship pledging of his peasants.

The University of California. WILLIAM A. MORRIS.

The Statute of York and the Interest of the Commons. By GEORGE LEE HASKINS. [Harvard Phi Beta Kappa Prize Essay for 1935.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1935. Pp. xi, 129. $1.25.)

THIS essay is a new approach to the ever-famous "statute" of 1322, whose main object was to repeal the Ordinances, and whose crowning clause decreed that "matters which are to be established for the estate of our lord the king and of his heirs, and for the estate of the realm and of the people, shall be treated, accorded, and established in parliaments, by our lord the king, and by the assent of the prelates, earls, barons, and the commonalty of the realm; according as it hath been heretofore accustomed". The argument turns largely upon a careful summary of current ideas on the history of what may roughly be called legislation and upon the contemporary use of the old French term *estat*. The author believes that by this period this word had largely parted company with the Latin *status* and referred to things fiscal—here, revenue matters. Hence little more was intended than had been conceded in the taxing clauses of *Confirmatio* (1297). But had this and related terms sufficiently differentiated and hardened so that one can be sure that "estate" was then thus limited in meaning? A completer array of contexts than this essay furnishes would seem necessary to establish the point. And the late Miss M. V. Clarke in her recently published and exceptionally able *Mediaeval Representation and Consent* has concluded from what appears to have been a much more thorough language study of the period that the estate of the king has the broad meaning of the prestige and authority of the monarch, and taken together with the estate of the realm and of the people would cover matters touched "in the general business of law-making and government".

As to legislation, the author presents the extreme reaction against the "reverential obscurity" which allowed the student to image legislation and much else of a modern sort as soon as the magic word parliament became common in the thirteenth century. The phrase "what touches all shall be approved by all" the author cannot believe related to things broader than money grants, and he holds that where such words appeared to apply to broader powers they "were little more than regal or chancerial verbiage". *Natura non facit saltus,* to be sure, but there was no "leap" here if we accept the Statute of York in its traditional sense. There has been too much explaining away of the familiar clause in the clerical summons to the Model Parliament as something lifted *ad hoc* from the Theodosian Code. This is no place

to cite references, but a detailed reading of the fourth volume of Matthew Paris and of the chancery enrollments for the same period, to go no further in the sources, would seem to be enough to convince one that before 1250 there was a medley of usages and ideas, of conscious and unconscious experiments along the lines of national solidarity, emergence of *communitas* and *universitas,* common action and assumption of responsibility touching many things outside of what related directly to finance. It would be hard to find much of importance in political theory in the early Edwardian age, except possibly that most pregnant distinction between crown and king, that did not exist under Henry III. And has not the reaction against the older notions of early legislation gone too far? Was there not on occasion a good deal more than the "interpretation and reaffirmance" of existing unwritten law? If one will set himself in all simplicity to read the texts of Edward I's statutes from beginning to end, he is bound to conclude that the makers were often doing something novel and were aware of it. Even the famous declaration of the barons back in 1236, *Nolumus leges Angliae mutare,* proves that they could at least harbor the idea of changing ancient laws "hitherto used and approved" and that they consciously refused so to do. Also too much has been made of the feudal solidarity of the great council before 1254 and the idea that from then on representatives of the *communitas* were from time to time *added.* There was no suddenness, and for long the non-feudal elements had, at the king's instance, been growing into the central assemblies.

There still seems much to recommend Lapsley's interpretation of what was intended in 1322, cited by Mr. Haskins but not accepted, *viz.,* that consent of the commons was necessary for "not ordinary legislation, but precisely those *constitutional* changes which the barons had attempted to carry through three times in the course of a century". Miss Clarke (pp. 155 ff.) does not follow Lapsley in believing that there was an implied distinction between "ordinary" and fundamental or "constitutional" changes but holds that during the mid-reign of Edward II (1311-1322) there was a rapidly developing distinction between legally summoned and irregular assemblies and a great increase in the value placed upon gaining the co-operation of the commons. Much can be drawn from the thirteenth and early fourteenth century to show that the conception of exceptionally fundamental and permanent acts was quite likely to be present in governmental crises; but whether or not one accepts Miss Clarke's interpretation, to use as an argument against Mr. Lapsley, as Mr. Haskins does, the fact that "no representatives were present when the Lords Ordainers were appointed in 1310, an occasion of great constitutional importance" seems to defeat his own conclusion. It was to undo all this that the Statute of York was made and to prevent just this sort of action in the future that the clause in question was added. But let one's judgment of the main thesis be what it may, this mono-

graph provokes thought on constitutional points, shows that the fascinating old subject of parliament's beginnings is far from dead, and contains a valuable brief résumé of recent work in this field.

University of Minnesota. A. B. WHITE.

Money, Prices, and Wages in Valencia, Aragon, and Navarre, 1351-1500. By EARL J. HAMILTON, Professor of Economics in Duke University. [Harvard Economic Studies.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1936. Pp. xxviii, 310. $4.50.)

THIS volume comes as a welcome sequel to Dr. Hamilton's first contribution in his studies of Spanish price history. Like its predecessor, its publication has been financed by the International Scientific Committee on Price History. A third and concluding volume is to round out the series with an analysis of Spanish prices during the period 1651 to 1800.

In the present contribution we have again a notable documentation of Spanish economic history, one which presents an outstanding example of diligence and precision in exploring an unusually difficult and confusing field. Unlike the first volume, this one is not marked by any such spectacular influence on prices as the influx of American treasure. Except for the wage reactions to the Black Death, there seem to have been no conspicuously abnormal forces at work. But even without such spectacular episodes, the story presents an illuminating record of the effects of inflation upon prices and the cost of living under attempted strict government control—phenomena which are certainly not without their timely interest in these very days. Their repercussions upon wages in particular are well worthy of careful analysis.

As indicated in the title, the volume does not cover either Castile or Catalonia. This is regrettable because of the political significance of the former kingdom in medieval Spain and the commercial pre-eminince of the latter. Unfortunately, as indicated by Dr. Hamilton, it was impossible to include them, owing to the absence of adequate sequels of price materials, although the Valencian and Aragonese tabulations in the present volume probably reflect conditions in Catalonia, with which both of those regions were economically in close contact. As in the case of the first volume in the series, the present one embodies the results of a truly amazing search, not merely through the usual major archives but beyond those into scores of municipal, ecclesiastical, and family collections. One of the most difficult aspects of the problem was the unraveling of the tangle of data on the coinage used in medieval Spain—a maze through which the author has found his way with a minimum of confusion to the reader.

Two striking conclusions have been effectively presented. In the first place, the price revolution of the sixteenth century apparently had no traceable antecedents in the closing decades of the fifteenth. There is no evi-

dence that the increase of monetary silver in Spain during the latter part of the fifteenth century set the stage in any way for the major movements of the price revolution, although there are indications of the sporadic influence of coinage debasement by individual sovereigns. In the second half of the fourteenth century, however, there were definite influences exerted upon prices by the influx into Spain of gold from central Europe (Silesia and Hungary) and from the rapidly increasing North African trade. Secondly, the medieval policy of attaining a "just price" through legal control is shown to have been futile on various occasions. There were numerous instances of such attempts on the part of municipal governments by grants of monopolies, especially in foods, on condition that certain price levels be maintained. However, there is too little material with reference to the reactions to specific price-fixing ordinances to test their efficacy, although the author feels that in the main they were probably futile.

The material on wages is voluminous and presented with discriminating care, though there are gaps as to explanatory influences. For example, the doubling of wages in Aragon during the eight years 1308-1315 would seem to call for some special comment, the more so because of the fact that the commodities involved were largely pastoral and quite isolated from any external influences. One notable feature of the wage trend is its striking parallel with price increases, presenting an unusually fortunate development for the workers involved, in contrast with the usual lagging of wage scales during inflationary price increases in other lands.

The present work, together with its predecessor and forth-coming sequel, will undoubtedly stand as an invaluable aid to all scholars—not merely those in the field of Spanish economic history—who are interested in those potent undercurrents of industry and commerce, the reactions of which upon the trend of wages and living costs are being more and more widely appreciated. By no means the least valuable aspect of the volume is the precision and completeness of the charts and the tabulations of the basic index numbers, for which Mrs. Hamilton is to be given credit.

New York City. JULIUS KLEIN.

Recherches sur Vicina et Cetatea Albă: Contributions à l'histoire de la domination byzantine et tatare et du commerce génois sur le littoral roumain de la Mer noire. Par G. I. BRĂTIANU, professeur à l'Université de Jassy. [Universitaiea Din Iași, Studii de istorie generala.] (Bucharest; Paris: Paul Geuthner. 1935. Pp. 195. 20 fr.)

IN this volume Professor Brătianu has assembled a series of studies published since 1923 in various journals not easily accessible. All but one have been elaborated or extended since their first appearance. As a whole they constitute an interesting contribution to the history of Byzantine and Tatar domination of the Rumanian littoral of the Black Sea and incidentally of the activity of Genoese commerce in this region.

The first and most important section is a study of the history of a mysterious Danubian town, Vicina, whose exact location near the mouth of the river is still a matter of doubt, so completely has all trace of it disappeared since the Turkish conquest. Yet for three hundred years it was a fortified frontier town of considerable commercial significance, especially during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the seat of a metropolitan for a generation, the site of a Franciscan convent, and important enough in the mind of one Italian cartographer to have given its name to the Danube itself, upon which it appears to have been the farthest point beyond the delta to which the ships of the Black Sea penetrated for trade. In the second study the author surveys the important aspects of Byzantine and Genoese activities at the mouth of the Dniester, centering in the port of Cetatea Albă, known in the Middle Ages as Mauro Castro, in modern times as Akkerman, with a view to filling in some blanks left by Professor Iorga in his work on this region.

To these two studies, constituting the greater part of this slender volume, there have been added two appendixes. The first is an essay upon ethnographic researches in the Balkan and Danubian regions, which might be of mild interest to students of the history of the Wallachians and the Bulgars. In the second appear forty documents from the Genoese notarial archives illustrative of the commercial relations between Caffa, where they were drawn, and Vicina; these are well edited, although one cannot forbear calling attention to one slip on page 174, where the author, naïvely relying upon Du Cange, appears to have misinterpreted the word *rotulus,* meaning here obviously the customary fractional division of the Mediterranean weight known as the *cantarium*—of wax in this instance—and not a cake or *pain* of that material. At the end are reproductions of six maps and portolani of the Black Sea region, too small in scale to be very illuminating, and a reproduction of a map of the mouths of the Danube, recently discovered and supposedly drawn for use at the Congress of Vienna, whereon the town of Mahmudieh is called Betesine, possibly a corruption of the medieval name, Vicina, and located not far from the point so named on the medieval maps.

To historians in general the volume will be chiefly interesting as a further disclosure of the constant and successful efforts of the pupils of Professor Iorga to continue worthily the tradition established by him of unremitting research into the medieval history of Southeastern Europe, wherein Brătianu in earlier volumes and now again has dug deeply, always endeavoring to place his contributions in the stream of general history.

Columbia University. EUGENE H. BYRNE.

Rudolph IV. von Österreich. By ERNST KARL WINTER. Zwei Bände. [Wiener soziologische Studien.] (Vienna: Reinhold Verlag. 1934. Pp. xvi, 410; xv, 531. 26 M.)

THESE volumes purport to be an intensive study of Austrian life and

thought during the epoch of Duke Rudolph IV (d. 1365) and of Heinrich of Langenstein (d. 1397). Every aspect of this study, however, gives plain evidence that the author did not plan to write the history of this epoch. Frankly, it is impossible to understand this period of Austrian history from the author's interpretation. Significant phases of Austrian culture, unfortunately, are never referred to or are distorted to fit into the framework of nineteenth century ideology. There are no indexes. Appendixes and photographs illustrate and confirm the philosophical and nationalistic outlook of the author. From the organization of the volumes we infer that they were planned and written separately. Certainly this is not a historical study in the accepted definition of the term.

Fortunately, the author nowhere conceals his fundamental purposes. If we mistake not, Dr. Winter, the former deputy mayor of Vienna, has two major aims in mind. The first, methodological in nature, proposes a radical reconstruction of the *Geisteswissenschaften;* the second, essentially practical, seeks the restoration of Habsburg power in Austria. In the mind of Dr. Winter these two purposes are elements of an organic unity. The *Geisteswissenschaften* hierarchy must express the true national genius of Catholic Austria. Such an ordered national intelligence alone can give adequate and lasting support to Habsburg legitimacy.

It is unnecessary to explain the elaborate hierarchy of Dr. Winter's system of the *Geisteswissenschaften.* Suffice it to say that it culminates in "Categorical Sociology", which is reared upon the foundations of medieval Scholasticism and of Platonism. Under these terms the author can create his own history to satisfy the demands of his nationalistic and religious interests. He is frank in his repudiation of German scholarship, whose domination of Austrian academic life he deeply deplores. Emancipation from the thralldom of haughty German minds and of National Socialism, he believes, will make possible the realization of Austria's destiny under Habsburg leadership.

The spirit of Dr. Winter's methodological reconstruction is best tested in the passages where he examines the forgeries of the Rudolphian regime. That there were forgeries he readily admits, but he will not accept the German interpretation of them. He accuses German historians of a deliberate attempt to undermine the historic honor of the Austrian Habsburg state. Besides, he insists that the political morality of the fourteenth century must not be judged according to the moral standards of the nineteenth. These forgeries were politically necessary in order to establish phases of Habsburg power. So it turns out that the forgeries are added proof of the diplomatic astuteness of Rudolph IV and his advisers.

The second aspect of Dr. Winter's study considers the discovery of the principles of his categorical sociology in the realm of social forces. The world of social forces—Austria—expresses itself in two elements: "Der österreich-

ische Mensch" and "der österreichische Staat". Categorically stated, these elements comprise the basic principles of Austrian nationalism. "Der österreichische Mensch erst offenbart das historische Wesen des österreichische Staates" (I, 187). The significance of the examination of the era of Rudolph IV lies in the demonstrable fact that here for the first time in Austrian history the ideology, mysticism, and character of the Austrian state and the Austrian ruler and patriot became historical and metaphysical realities.

It follows from this position that much of the study is devoted to an exposition and glorification of Rudolph's character and faith. Naturally, it was his genius which created the Austrian state, his unflagging energy which enlarged Austria's domain, his penetrating intelligence which realized the importance of socialism, capitalism, orthodox Catholicism and Scholasticism, and the Renaissance as necessary factors in the national economy. He helped to formulate the "Staatsideologie" and the "Staatsmystik". He founded the university and built the national shrine, St. Stephen's. He also asserted Austria's independence of the Holy Roman Empire. In short Rudolph IV is the hero and ideal of Austrian nationalism.

Perhaps the most satisfying aspect of this study to Austrian national mysticism is the discussion of Rudolph's "Rassenzugehörigkeit". Cranial measurements and photographs "prove" beyond a doubt that the hero and others of the Habsburg dynasty were Nordics, members of "eine junge ausserordentliche hoch spezialisierte und progressive Form" (I, 407). In photograph XXIII the reader is permitted to gaze upon the "Zustand der Gebeine Rudolphs IV bei der Öffnung des Sarges am 3 März, 1933". There he lies, the symbol of Austria's true nationalism, Nordic in race (skull), Catholic in faith (cross), and defender of Austrian political independence (sword).

Here is nationalism supported by an elaborate metaphysical structure. Those who wish to know the "historical" Rudolph IV and his age are advised to consult "historical" authorities. Those, however, who seek to penetrate into the ideological conflicts of contemporary Austria will find these volumes highly instructive.

Northwestern University. ERNEST LAUER.

English Constitutional Ideas in the Fifteenth Century. By S. B. CHRIMES. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1936. Pp. xx, 415. $6.00.)

DR. Chrimes is following in the footsteps of Professor Plucknett, who has studied at length the year books of the early fourteenth century to discover what the justices said about constitutional issues. The volume before us examines the year books of the fifteenth century to the same end. The author relies upon the black letter editions since there are few modern ones, and he prints a valuable appendix of pertinent extracts. He has not run

down any cases in the court rolls, though this would have been a salutary diversion and perhaps rewarding (as in Pilkington's Case). Declaring rightly that the year books are "almost the only verbatim reports of the living word" from the century, he is nonetheless alive to their shortcomings as being special pleading and "rather out-of-date in matters of constitutional theory". He has, of course, used other relevant sources, such as the rolls of parliament, has printed three drafts of Bishop Russell's sermon of 1483, and has summarized a "Doctor and Student" tract embodying legal thought at the end of the century. He has incorporated in the volume previous studies of his own on Fortescue and on the earliest use of the terms house of lords and house of commons. The whole is cast in a framework of four chapters, to each of which are added from two to six excursuses. The result is amorphous, a structure not to be imitated. The author is fortunate in having many friends and advisers, who have helped him to avoid the slips which a more isolated writer is likely to be guilty of.

The four chapters treat respectively of the estate of the king, the nature of parliament, statutory law and judicial discretion, and the theory of the state. The last is little more than a summary of Fortescue. The first and the third contain the year book matter and are the most valuable. The first explains that there was no clear law of succession to the kingship but a tendency to follow the law of the inheritance of private property. Further, God might make known His choice of king through the voice of "the nobles and estates". The king did not decide upon the scope of his privileges; the judges did this. To make new laws or secure financial aid he must have the authority of his subjects given in parliament.

In the second chapter the now accepted origin of parliament as a high court is noted, and its development as a representative assembly and a legislating body is traced. Dr. Chrimes's new matter here is a skillful examination of the evolution of the use of the term "estates". Employed at first with a social connotation, it was extended, particularly in connection with the revolution of 1399, into a favorite fifteenth century phrase, "the estates of the realm". Relative to the high court the author leaves unsolved the puzzle of why the term first came into vogue when the judicial activities of parliament had largely given place to its legislative activities. With regard to the estates of the realm his enthusiasm has led him to overemphasize the significance of the term in making parliament an assembly possessing "an authority innate in the natural social orders as well as an authority inherent in the king's court". The authority in question arose largely from the representative character of parliament, particularly from that of the commons, and this was established long before the term "estates" got its tardy application. The commons, too, had earlier come to look upon themselves as representative of national rather than of purely local interests.

The altogether admirable part of the book is the last part of chapter III,

giving the pronouncements of the justices on statutory law. Here we learn of the relation of new law to the old customary law and to earlier statutes, of statutes affirmative and negative, of statutes general and particular, of the binding force of statutes as to territory and as to persons, of their relation to the canon law, to the law merchant, and to the royal prerogative (the king could dispense in cases of *mala prohibita* but not in cases of *mala in se*). Though the nullification of a statute by the justices was admitted in theory, there is no evidence of the practice in the fifteenth century, the evidence adduced by Professor McIlwain being questioned. As to judicial discretion in the interpretation of statutes, a restrictive interpretation, *i.e.*, adherence to the intention of the legislature, was favored, but occasionally "the words of statutes were extended by the judges on grounds of equity or discretion".

This brief indication of the content of Dr. Chrimes's chapters reveals them as somewhat narrowly legalistic; and they are written with legal clarity and precision. The narrowness extends to the author's conception of constitutional history as concerned only with matters in which *rights* of control are in question. Though he sketches Fortescue's proposed reforms touching taxation and the council, it is with the reservation that they are not pertinent to his theme except insofar as the adoption of the first might have deprived parliament of control over taxation. He thus excludes from his discussion institutional changes which are the significant features of fifteenth century English history, such, for example, as the activity of the council. Nor does it concern him to ascertain where the center of gravity in parliament lay but only to record the respective rights of lords and commons and of parliament as a whole. He does show effectively that for legislation in the fifteenth century there was need of the authority of all the estates in parliament. But no one has doubted this, except perhaps Professor Pollard.

Dr. Chrimes devotes one of his engaging excursuses to a sharp criticism of my book, *The Influence of the Commons on Early Legislation*. He is scornful of my logic, of my alleged prepossessions, of my naïveté, and of my powers of expression. I am in his debt for correcting from Pilkington's Case my inference that *all* amendments made by the lords to commons' bills were returned to the commons for their approval. Only those which extended the provisions of a bill were returned, not those which were within its scope, as when a grant for four years was changed to one for two. Dr. Chrimes fails, however, to note that this procedure, far from detracting from the significance of commons' measures, rather enhanced it. When lords' amendments were not "restrictive", they were sent back to the commons, without whose assent "ceo ne puit estre enacte". By Dr. Chrimes's remarks on the relation of statute to ordinance I am not altogether convinced, having in mind the usage of the rolls. And, when I said that "statute" came to be used less frequently than "act" in the fifteenth century, I referred to this usage, not to that of the lawyers, as my next sentence showed.

Dr. Chrimes's criticism may even take the form of a misquotation, the arraignment being based on the misquotation, as in his comment (p. 246) on what I said about the petition of 1414 on page 262 of my book. Again, although I usually spoke of the "superseding" of legislation of the earlier type by that based on commons' petitions and of the reverse process later, I once or twice used the words "triumph" or "rivalry". It was a trite rhetorical device. But Dr. Chrimes says that such expressions "surely indicate that their author contemplates the existence of a struggle between the government and the commons for the right to initiate legislation. . . . It is to be found nowhere save in the author's mind" (p. 242). But I have nowhere referred to a struggle nor, so far as I know, have I anachronistic ideas of the fifteenth century "engendered by the constitutional controversies of later centuries".

Since Dr. Chrimes is not the only one of my critics who think that I drew inferences unwarranted by my evidence regarding the influence of the commons on legislation, I may perhaps be permitted to add another word. Though the extent of legislation derived from commons' bills in the first half of the fifteenth century has not been questioned, it has been maintained (1) that the commons themselves are likely to have been, through manipulation of the election of members, little more than representatives or tools of the lay lords and (2) that commons' bills may have been drafted by the king and council. If either or both practices prevailed, the predominance of commons' bills at any time had little significance.

Without doubt some fifteenth century elections were manipulated, as they often were before 1832. The century was one of retainers, political rivalries, intimidation, and violence. The Paston Letters testify to manipulation in years of civil strife. But the dispute in the election described by Professor Williams (*Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XL, 79) did not arise from attempted baronial control but professedly from a demand for the older, wider franchise. Moreover, though knights and esquires were generally attached to the royal household and to baronial households, both groups were so numerous in fifteenth century England that many may not have been. We should remember that over against fifty lay peers (some of them young, old, or supine) stood a body of some nine hundred knights and twelve hundred esquires (*ibid.*, XLIX, 630). Why should it be assumed that a large and wealthy gentry and a prosperous bourgeoisie (the commons were popular only in the sense of being non-baronial) were dominated by a handful of peers? Even if they were, it should be explained why the baronage preferred to legislate through the commons rather than in their own chamber. Before we can pronounce on this question there must be a careful examination of the election, personnel, and actions of the members of the commons in each parliament of the century.

In the same way it cannot be said without investigation and proof that commons' bills were to any extent drafted in the council. The logical weak-

ness of the suggestion lies in the fact that there was at no time any difficulty in introducing legislation in the old way. Why trouble to manipulate commons' bills? Mr. Dunham in an able introduction to the precious *Fane Fragment* of 1461 points to a commons' bill presented by the king to the lords. But he fails to note that the bill in question was an amended one, which in its later stages would naturally be in the king's hands. Hence there does not yet seem to be any weighty evidence that the predominance of legislation originating in commons' bills during the first half of the fifteenth century was not a genuine expression of the wishes of a fairly representative body of knights, esquires, and burgesses. All of which, however, Dr. Chrimes would exclude from the realm of constitutional history.

Bryn Mawr. H. L. GRAY.

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

L'Autrichien: Essais sur la formation d'une individualité nationale du XVI^e^ au XVIII^e^ siècle. Par ANDRÉ TIBAL, professeur à la Faculté des lettres de Nancy. [Annales de l'Est.] (Paris: Berger-Levrault. 1936. Pp. vi, 267. 25 fr.)

IT is Professor Tibal's aim, in this interesting collection of essays, to illustrate the cultural development of *homo austriacus* over a period of about three centuries and a half—from the time of Emperor Frederick III (1440-1493) to the death of Emperor Leopold II in 1792. Unconcerned with either ethnological or politico-geographical factors, M. Tibal focuses his attention almost entirely on Vienna and the Viennese, with an occasional reference to Salzburg. Indeed, the volume might justifiably be subtitled: "How and Why Life in Vienna came to differ from Life in the Northern Germanies".

Der österreichische Mensch is described as the product of a long list of conditioning influences. Vienna, it is pointed out, was from medieval times a princely residence city whose splendid climate, varied opportunities, glamorous environment, and political importance attracted thousands upon thousands of foreigners. As the center of a great commercial traffic, it came to contain a wealthy burgher class. The Viennese, living in a fertile region famous for its grapes, grew to be notoriously fond of pleasure, especially of fine wine, good food, cards, and spectacular entertainments. From the time of the Catholic Reformation on, Professor Tibal keeps repeating, Austria came under the full control of the Jesuits, notably Italian Jesuits, who strove to sever all cultural ties between the personal domains of the Habsburgs and the remainder of the Holy Roman Empire. Using Latin on every occasion, even in their theatrical performances, the Jesuits also fought to keep the dialect of the masses free from contamination by the "Lutheran German" used in the northern Germanies.

From 1526 on, moreover, Austrian policy and outlook received a definitely

eastward orientation, while Bohemian and Magyar nobles became influential at the Habsburg court. Finally, the Habsburg rulers and their subjects early came to look upon themselves as the defenders of Catholic Christianity, "the true faith", against the onslaughts of Mohammedan infidels in the East and Protestant heretics in the West. Looking to Rome for spiritual guidance, to Spain for etiquette, and to the Balkans for new conquests, Austria drew further and further away from the Protestant Germanies and, in like measure, fell further and further behind in scientific and literary achievement. Only in the realm of art and music did the Austrian spirit rise to creative heights, and Austrian baroque art, according to M. Tibal, represents Catholic art at its most beautiful.

Considerable attention is paid throughout the book to the efforts of such "German-minded" (and generally non-Austrian) individuals as Conrad Pickel, Johann Spiesshaimer, Prince Eugene, Gottfried Leibnitz, and Johann Gottsched to make Vienna the recognized spiritual capital of the Germans. In each case, however, lack of interest, or lack of funds, or lack of tolerance for Protestants, or all three of these, foredoomed such patriotic endeavors to failure.

The typical Austrian character of the late eighteenth century, as pictured by the author, was narrowly Catholic, spiritually indolent, lightheaded, and pleasure-loving. *L'Autrichien* was content to eat, drink, laugh, sing, dance, gamble, and—pray. When things went wrong, he sought consolation in *Ironisieren* or in *Raunzen,* words as typically Austrian as *Gemütlichkeit.*

Accepting this as a cultural study, with an absolute minimum of attention to political and economic facts, there yet comes to mind one major criticism of an otherwise eminently worth-while and entertaining work. The essays do not clearly show the *formation* of any Austrian "national individuality". Toward the close of the last chapter M. Tibal himself says: "How little the Viennese have changed in a period of nearly three hundred and fifty years!"

Columbia University. WALTER CONSUELO LANGSAM.

Erasme, 1466-1536. By L. GAUTIER VIGNAL. (Paris: Payot. 1936. Pp. 282. 20 fr.)

THE amount of attention given to Erasmus on the four hundredth anniversary of his death is astounding. Addresses commemorating his fame, newspaper articles celebrating his virtures, new editions and new translations of his works, studies of particular phases of his genius, and at least half a dozen new biographies have testified to the vitality of the public interest in the greatest of the Humanists. It is well for our age that it should find in a man distinguished by moderation, sweet reasonableness, and an artistic conception of life, literature, and religion, the most congenial of all the characters of the age of the Reformation. For one may say of the lovers

of Erasmus's virtues what Quintilian said of the admirers of Cicero's style: "Ille se profecisse sciat cui Cicero valde placebit".

It would be too much to expect important new discoveries in each of the popular biographies. M. Vignal, like Hartmann and Hollis and Huizinga and Maison and Zweig, has sought only to put into readable and reliable form the well-known story of Erasmus's life. This he has done with competence. In one glowing passage, in his second chapter, he paints a portrait of his subject so well drawn, so finely shaded, so softly colored, and so lifelike that it must take rank as one of the best things in recent literature, far surpassing, in beauty and truth, the violent tints of Zweig or the drab monotone of Maison. In other respects, M. Vignal leaves something to be desired. While he says some good things about the *Colloquies* and about the *Institution of a Christian Prince,* he gives the reader very little impression of most of the Humanist's works. The author excuses himself from describing the *Praise of Folly* by saying that everyone has read it, and from evaluating the *New Testament* and the *Free Will,* by alleging that they are theological and that theology lies outside of the boundaries of his book.

On the questions raised by the Reformation M. Vignal is convinced that the Catholics were right and Luther wrong. The Reformation, in his opinion, was the greatest calamity that ever scourged Europe. His only criticism of the Humanist is that he did not earlier take a more decided stand against Luther.

Will no French scholar look up the imperfectly known relations of Erasmus with the French Humanists? About fifteen years ago Professor John L. Gerig discovered at Nîmes an eighteenth century copy of the letter book of Jean de Pins, from which he kindly allowed one of his friends to publish six unknown letters of Erasmus. The whole manuscript, with 180 letters, or parts of letters, would be well worth publishing as it is. Still better would it be if some scholar could trace the sixteenth century originals, which probably lie hidden in some private collection in France.

Cornell University. PRESERVED SMITH.

The Reign of Elizabeth, 1558-1603. By J. B. BLACK, Burnett-Fletcher Professor of History, University of Aberdeen. [The Oxford History of England.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1936. Pp. vii, 448. $5.00.)

No division of the history of England into periods can fail to recognize and acknowledge the unity and the completeness of the reign of Elizabeth. It is true that Froude swept his chessmen from the board without telling the story of her last fifteen years, but he had already devoted twelve volumes to the elucidation of his thesis and had satiated himself and his readers with his analyses of all the Elizabethan characters in whom he was interested. It is true also that other writers have chosen the last few years only of the reign

as their field of study, but they have relied on Froude for the earlier part. Generally speaking no scholar or writer of serious or romantic history can escape the appeal of those forty-five years in which, as an unknown ruler, as a long-experienced sovereign, and as a sad old woman Elizabeth occupied the throne and dominated the public life of England. Seldom has a new reign introduced such an untrammeled sovereign and so new a group of ministers, and seldom has so firm a hand been laid on policy to its very end and but one influential statesman been left to make the transfer to the next reign.

The reign of Elizabeth is a clear-cut, well-marked historical period. To narrate its events and describe its conditions is a challenging task to any historian. Mr. Black has taken up the challenge in the true historical spirit. If he were not already known as a mature historian, this work would establish his position as such. There is no canon of historical criticism he does not conform to, no source of contemporary information, judging from his bibliography, he has not made use of. He is apparently familiar with all modern writing of importance on the subject, his attitude is reasonably unprejudiced, and his aphorisms are moderate and in good taste. Criticism of his book becomes therefore largely an estimate of its interest and its adequacy, of its skill in construction, and of the extent to which his heroine (there is bound to be a subjective element where Elizabeth is concerned) conforms to the picture of her in the mind of the reviewer.

There is, besides, a problem of historical construction, not peculiar to the reign of Elizabeth but especially difficult in that period of pressing events and changing institutions. The finances, economic changes, explorations, the intellectual and literary events of the time, which have so much to do, perhaps everything to do, with making it one of the great periods of English history, must come in somewhere. To combine this organized information with the narrative is a matter of much difficulty and may well make or mar a book from the point of view of interest. Everybody likes a story, continuous, moving, dramatic, personal; but everybody is not so much interested in the financial operations which lay at the basis of Elizabethan policy, or in the enclosures which were transforming the countryside, or even in the wandering of the Elizabethan explorers or in the writing which was the glory of the later years of the reign. Yet no modern scholar is willing to omit or even to subordinate this substantial material.

In the main Mr. Black has solved the problem well. His early chapters are largely narrative, paying attention only to such other matters as the course of events necessarily brings into the foreground; the middle chapters are devoted primarily to the constitution, the spread of English trade, national economic changes, and to literature, art, and social conditions; and the later chapters are again given to narrative, especially the foreign wars and the long struggle with Ireland. It is an ingenious and a successful plan, no

description being without reference to the course of events and no part of the narrative being allowed to escape bearing some part of the burden of explanation of political or economic institutions. Within these bounds are placed the multitude of facts and events and personalities which make up the rich story of Elizabethan England.

It remains to gather from Mr. Black's book his conception of the great queen. For this we have searched in vain. Nowhere does Elizabeth herself appear except for a few sentences in the first few pages of the book; she never appears without a political tag, something she said or did, never what she was. Out of more than two hundred index references scarcely more than two or three are other than political in character. Perhaps this is a true characterization, perhaps she had no other than a political life. Certainly from her earliest girlhood, exigencies of politics had pressed close upon her. But back of her interviews with ambassadors and ministers, of her approval or disapproval of expeditions and statutes, of her controversies with parliament and foreign sovereigns, there must have been a woman. It is part of the tragedy of Elizabeth that no one seems ever to have discovered her. The most that one ever gets is a judgment on her intellectual abilities or a speculation as to whether she took more after her father or her mother. I think of her as very feminine, probably weak, not very bright, lonely, bitter as life passed on, without husband or child or close relative, unsupported by any personal religion, faithful to her duties yet often doubting whether they were worth while, enjoying hunting, dancing, card playing, but soon tiring of them, attracted to one, perhaps two, possibly three men, successively, but either not enough attracted to take the chance of marrying any one of them, or realizing that a marriage would be politically undesirable. This or something like it—or something different—would be the real Elizabeth; but in Mr. Black's book it is the queen only who appears—and possibly that is all that a scholar is justified in portraying.

A word of commendation should be said of the dozen excellent maps, plans, and genealogies at the end of the book, of the good bibliography, the adequate index, and the useful lists of the holders of the great offices. Altogether it is an excellent history of the reign of Elizabeth.

University of Pennsylvania. EDWARD P. CHEYNEY.

Maritime Neutrality to 1780: A History of the Main Principles governing Neutrality and Belligerency to 1780. By CARL J. KULSRUD. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1936. Pp. x, 351. $3.50.)

As the United States continues to grope its way in seeking a legislative expression of neutrality which will serve for the world of today, the literature of the subject is constantly on the increase. In the minds of some, no doubt, the historical treatment of the subject is valuable largely for the purpose of seeing to it that history will not repeat itself. Mr. Kulsrud's work is not of

this class. He has no thesis to maintain with reference to the situations of the present. He has undertaken a careful survey, apparently without emotional prepossessions, of the development of certain leading features of the relations between neutrals and belligerents down to the period of the Armed Neutrality of 1780. The period covered is substantially the same as that treated by Jessup and Déak in their first volume. As the beginning of neutrality must be sought at a time when there was little if any international legal concept of neutrality (the ancient division between friends and enemies was quite inadequate), the growth has been first in state policies and practices, secondly in bilateral treaty arrangement, and only with the eighteenth century as a body of substantive international law which undertook to stress neutral rights and only secondarily developed doctrines of neutral duties—the last introduced in large part by the text of Vattel and the practice of the United States. The legal clash was between the positive and the natural schools of thought.

The present work grew out of a doctoral dissertation upon the relations of Great Britain and the Baltic states, 1772-1780, and perhaps for that reason the author has paid more attention to the influence of neutrality doctrines and practices by the Baltic states than is to be found in most treatments of the subject. In preparation he has relied upon printed sources and authorities, the practice codes of the various states, the texts of treaties, and the text writers. He has traced the origin and development of the great doctrines of neutrality: free ships and free goods, visitation and search, contraband, blockade, and the rule of 1756. Much of the treaty development had been well discussed by Atherley-Jones in his *Commerce in War,* published in 1907, which does not seem to be referred to. Nor does the author, in considering English practice, appear to take into consideration the range of droits in admiralty, peculiar to the British system. The first "modern illustration" of the right of visitation and search as a belligerent right the author traces in English practice to 1512, although admitting that it was asserted much earlier. The doctrine of free ships, free goods, apparently made its appearance in the commercial treaty of 1650 between France and the Netherlands, as a matter of state policy. In the eighteenth century it was sought to be justified as a part of the law of nature. The development of the corollary of enemy ships, enemy goods, does not seem to have had the same growth. The significance of the doctrine of free ships, free goods, is indicated by the author: "A new element was thus introduced into the scramble for world commerce, and a new weight thrown into the variable balance of international rivalries. The wars would thenceforth represent, on the one hand a struggle between belligerents, on the other a contest between one or both belligerent parties and the neutrals" (p. 108)—an element which has never disappeared and is not likely to so long as neutrality retains any of its historic character. Mr. Kulsrud contributes an excellent chapter upon the rule of 1756 in which he clearly shows that this rule was one recognized

in practice long before 1756—not well defined, perhaps, but enforced throughout Europe. Finally, the author does well to call attention to the fact that there were armed neutralities before 1780—those of 1613, 1691, 1693, and 1756, in all of which the Baltic states played a large part.

University of Michigan. J. S. Reeves.

Wilhelm Egon von Fürstenbergs Gefangenschaft und ihre Bedeutung für die Friedensfrage, 1674-1679. Von Dr. Käthe Spiegel. [Rheinisches Archiv.] (Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid. 1936. Pp. viii, 186.)

This volume is devoted to the study of an interesting episode in Louis XIV's war against the Dutch Republic, an episode which in the event assumed no inconsiderable importance. The European peace congress which had assembled in 1673 in Cologne to make an end of the war was suddenly dissolved in April, 1674. What caused its disruption was the secret and violent seizure of Wilhelm Egon von Fürstenberg, the Elector of Cologne's diplomatic representative at the Congress.

It soon appeared that Lisola, the Austrian minister, had ordered Fürstenberg's apprehension and abduction to Vienna, with a view to detaining him there as the prisoner of the emperor. Louis XIV charged Austria with a breach of international law and demanded the release of Fürstenberg and, since Austria refused, withdrew from the peace conference. Lisola defended his action on the grounds that Fürstenberg was a traitor to the Roman emperor, that he was the agent of Louis XIV, that he had a hand in the Hungarian rebellion and had supported Zriny, the Magyar revolutionary. Fürstenberg made no secret of the fact that he was in the service of France and that he defended French interests in the affairs of the empire. The charge of treason under the constitution of the empire after the Peace of Westphalia could be sustained only if one adopted a narrowly Habsburg point of view, for such incidents had become a matter of common occurrence. There was no real trial for treason, and Austria merely employed the threat of execution as a means of bringing pressure to bear upon Louis XIV. Since the detention of Fürstenberg was one of the issues that held up the peace of Europe, one power after another demanded his release—England, Sweden, Brandenburg, and even the pope, who for a time threatened to create Fürstenberg a cardinal in defiance of Austria. The matter dragged on until the end of the war, and first among the French demands in the negotiations of Nijmegen in 1679 was the insistence upon the release of Fürstenberg, to which Austria eventually consented, for Louis XIV stoutly and honorably refused to abandon his agent.

Dr. Spiegel pursues the interesting story through all its dramatic changes to its final denouement in the peace of Nijmegen, drawing upon all available evidence in the French, Austrian, and other archives. The study is solidly documented, written with good judgment, and is extremely readable.

The Ohio State University. W. L. Dorn.

England under George I. By WOLFGANG MICHAEL, Professor Emeritus, University of Freiburg (Breisgau). Volume I, *The Beginnings of the Hanoverian Dynasty.* Translated and adapted from the German. [Studies in Modern History, General Editor, L. B. Namier.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1936. Pp. viii, 406. $7.00.)

THE first volume of Professor Michael's three-volume history, *Englische Geschichte im achtzehnten Jahrhundert,* originally appeared in German in 1896 and a second edition in 1921. The second and third volumes were published in 1920 and 1934, respectively, and like the first will also be translated into English. As the first volume was not reviewed in this journal, this translation of it may properly receive more attention than is commonly given to a translation.

This is a work in the truly grand manner of Lord Macaulay. It covers only four years of British history, yet it does not seem verbose, and the materials presented have been well digested. Some slight repetitions were unavoidable because the treatment is topical. The more important chapters deal with the last years of Queen Anne, the accession of George I, the Jacobite Rebellion of 1715, the Barrier treaty, and the Quadruple Alliance. It seems amply documented, mainly from the archives of Austria, Prussia, Hanover, and England. Since the work deals so much with British diplomatic relations with Holland and France, it might have been improved by the use of the archives at The Hague and Paris, which are exceedingly rich in unpublished manuscripts for these years. The author has not, moreover, done much with the great wealth of pamphlet material which appeared in England at this time. But perhaps this is a counsel of perfection. Even with the increasing accessibility of archives, recent scholarly works dealing with the naval and military history of the period have, with one notable exception, practically ignored the admiralty records at the Public Record Office and those at the Dépôt de la Guerre and the Archives nationales in Paris.

After the Glorious Revolution William III and the Whigs built up a system of alliances against France based on the maritime powers and the emperor, which the Tory ministry (1710-1714) did much to overthrow. The Whigs at the accession of George I attempted to return to the system of William III but gave it up in favor of an alliance with France and the empire. The activity of the British government in these four years was equally significant in the domestic and foreign fields. At home it bound up the wounds of the war, established a new dynasty upon the throne, and crushed a rebellion in Scotland. Abroad its record is still more striking, for in these years British diplomacy extended from Spain to the Baltic, from Sicily to Constantinople. The treaty of Utrecht was supplemented by the Barrier treaty and a commercial treaty with Spain. The Barrier treaty in turn led to treaties with both the emperor and France which, with the nominal adhesion of the Dutch, are usually referred to as the Quadruple Alliance. British diplomats were likewise intervening with excellent results between

the Turks and the Habsburgs. The battle of Cape Passaro and the treaty of Passarowitz took place within a fortnight of each other. Never again, until Great Britain's far-flung empire came into existence, did her diplomacy extend itself so widely. The author concludes on this note:

> Within a few weeks Great Britain had scored three signal successes: the Turkish war was concluded, the Quadruple Alliance formed, and a naval victory won. . . . She was the head of a peace league, the mediator between contending nations. At that moment George I attained the zenith of his power.

The author has a higher estimate of Cardinal Alberoni's ability than most writers, but he is less favorable in his views of Stanhope and George I, although he gives them praise for the Quadruple Alliance. He makes it clear that the Jacobite Rebellion collapsed because of the general ineffectiveness of its leaders. They all blundered, and whatever they tried to do they did at the wrong time, whether it was Ormonde, Mar, the Pretender, or Bolingbroke.

For a work of such scope this is exceedingly free from errors. Innocent XII is a slip for Clement XI (p. 248). It should be Arthur, not Thomas Onslow (p. 68). The old Whig junto did not include Marlborough, but the Earl of Orford and Lord Halifax were members (p. 92). It is scarcely accurate to say that the Duchess of Marlborough resigned her offices voluntarily (p. 11).

The editor has done his work faithfully. He has omitted the very long introduction of the original, but from that point onward he has been faithful to the text. The translation (p. 275) is a bit unhappy in attributing to Philip V the classic statement, "Il n'y a plus de Pyrenees". Professor Michael in another place assigns it to the Spanish ambassador in Paris. The reviewer regrets that the identification of characters in the index of the original was not retained in the translation and, even more, that an opportunity was not found in the footnotes to bring the translation into line with the latest developments in scholarship. Offhand, we think of Geikie and Montgomery on the Barrier treaties, Basil Williams's biography of Stanhope, J. F. Chance's works on Scandinavian diplomacy, and A. and H. Tayler on the rebellion of 1715. But in spite of these minor shortcomings this is a worthy translation of a most valuable work. We look forward to the appearance of the succeeding volumes under the able editorship of Professor L. B. Namier.

Indiana University. WILLIAM THOMAS MORGAN.

The Literary Inquisition of Ch'ien-Lung. By LUTHER CARRINGTON GOODRICH, Lecturer in Chinese at Columbia University. [American Council of Learned Societies, Studies in Chinese and Related Civilizations, Number 1.] (Baltimore: Waverly Press. 1935. Pp. xii, 275. $2.50.)

ALTHOUGH for the most part the Chinese have maintained a tradition of objectivity in their recording of history, there have been rulers at various times who have attempted to influence the writing or rewriting of the his-

tory of certain periods to suit their own purposes. Perhaps the best-known example is that of Ch'in Shih Huang Ti, the great unifier of the third century B.C., although a similarly censurable case is that of Emperor Ch'ien-lung of the last dynasty. The latter is guilty of having rewritten certain of the official histories which he believed showed prejudice against the Ch'ing dynasty and other non-Chinese dynasties which were in a sense ancestral to it, and of setting up a literary inquisition in connection with the compilation of the *Ssŭ-k'u Ch'üan Shu*, the greatest collection of Chinese literature ever brought together, which resulted in the proscription of all or parts of more than two thousand books. It is to an examination of this literary inquisition that Professor Goodrich's monograph is devoted.

While it is true that a certain amount of persecution of writers occurred during the reigns of his immediate predecessors, Ch'ien-lung is himself responsible for the carefully organized and persistent censorship which Professor Goodrich shows to have been one phase of the compilation of the *Ssŭ-k'u Ch'üan Shu*. Why Ch'ien-lung, who ruled at the time when Manchu power was at its height, should have deemed it necessary to undertake such a vigorous campaign against seditious writings—most of them from the pens of men no longer living—remains an unanswered question.

In Part I Professor Goodrich presents a summary of his findings, giving the political setting, information concerning book-burnings prior to 1772, the relationship between the *Ssŭ-k'u Ch'üan Shu* and the inquisition, the methods used in the search for "treasonable" books, and the results and consequences of the inquisition. Part II consists of translations of the biographies, memorials to the throne, edicts, and proclamations on which Part I is largely based; and in an appendix there is as complete a catalogue of the proscribed works which have survived as the author was able to compile. The American Council of Learned Societies has recently published a list of addenda and corrigenda, which will be supplied upon application to persons who have purchased the book.

University of Washington. KNIGHT BIGGERSTAFF.

Robespierre. By J. M. THOMPSON, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, University Lecturer in Modern French History. Two volumes. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1936. Pp. lv, 311; viii, 300. $7.00.)

ROBESPIERRE was not an attractive personality. He was disliked by all but a handful of ardent followers, though for a time he was more admired and trusted than any other man in France. By the same token, there has been perhaps only one man since Hamel who loved him supremely, too well to be his biographer. It is best that Mathiez should have assembled the evidence and left the task of weighing it to others. Mr. Thompson has performed this task very capably. He has given us the most complete, detailed,

and thorough study of Robespierre in existence, based on the most recently published material. The attitude is impartial and sane. Mr. Thompson realizes that the function of a biographer is to interpret as well as to narrate, and his interpretation is generally sound.

But no book of this importance can satisfy in every detail. It seems to me that the author has failed to grasp the foreign plot theory. He makes clear that Robespierre believed that certain people were in foreign pay and that in 1794 he was equally opposed to Dantonists and Hébertists. But he quite misses the pivotal point that to the Robespierrists these two groups were secretly allied in a traitorous conspiracy to discredit the Revolution by opposite methods. Again, though this is more controversial, the importance of the Ventôse decrees is not appreciated. To some of us they appear to play a decisive part in the fall of Robespierre; had they succeeded, they would have altered the face of France. But whether one accepts this view or not, a complete account of them is essential to an understanding of Robespierre as an economist and a politician. Such an account is lacking. Quite inadmissible is an imagined nocturnal visit by Saint-Just to Robespierre on the eve of the 9th Thermidor, resulting in a complete change in the former's attitude. "Some one this night has touched my heart", says Saint-Just next day, according to Mr. Thompson, the someone being Robespierre. Unfortunately the word so rendered is "flétri", which means "blighted", not "touched", and cannot possibly refer to Robespierre. According to the *Moniteur,* Saint-Just used the same word in his warning note to Collot and his friends a few moments before. This demolishes the basis of the visit theory. Saint-Just was indeed hurt that night, but he persevered in the conciliatory policy started on the 5th.

Certain minor citicisms suggest themselves. Mr. Thompson occasionally writes loosely, even inaccurately. He says that "the *marc d'argent* remained, as a permanent offence to democracy" (I, 70), though later alluding to its repeal (I, 169). In describing Robespierre's activity on the Committee of Public Safety, he says "from April till his fall on July 27 he never missed a single meeting" (II, 75). This flatly contradicts his own admission and the known fact that Robespierre was absent continuously during July (II, 228-230). This error is based on too great confidence in the lists of attendance at the meetings, the inaccuracy of which is demonstrable. Mr. Thompson admits that they cannot always be relied on, but he relies on them too much. In addition to the representatives on mission and the national agents, the author thinks he has discovered the existence of a third army of commissioners, a hundred and twenty in all, linking Paris with the departments (II, 90). It is surprising that no other historian mentions them. With regard to Robespierre's supposed dictatorship, Mr. Thompson is rather inconsistent. In general he denies it (II, 134, 279), but at times he accepts it (II, 70) and entitles a whole chapter "The Dictator". Perhaps his real position

is best stated in the sentence, "Robespierre is not a dictator, but the government of which he is the figurehead is nothing if not dictatorial" (II, 250).

A number of new points are brought out. Robespierre, though opposed to capital punishment, did not resign his judgeship in 1788 (I, 39). He is said to have had a mistress in 1789, whom he treated badly. An account of his newspaper is given, perhaps for the first time in English. There are interesting and vivid details of the arrangements in the Salle des Menus Plaisirs in the Manège, in the Jacobin Club, in the Duplay house. The many passages describing Robespierre's appearance and personality are arresting, instructive, and usually convincing. The book is prefaced by an admirable historical and critical bibliography, contains a useful plan of Paris in 1792 and an appendix listing all the known portraits of Robespierre, a number of which are reproduced.

Mr. Thompson's Robespierre is the man whom most historians know. "His methods, indeed, were not those of a strong, or generous, or straightforward man. . . . He could deservedly be hailed, if not as a great leader of the people, at any rate as an unerring interpreter of the times" (I, 258). "Robespierre . . . kept himself intact and incorrupt, nearer than any other man to the brain and heart of the Revolution" (II, 275).

So many people have said this that I suppose it is so. But after all, what was the Revolution? Why was Robespierre's Revolution any more *the* Revolution than Mirabeau's or Madame Roland's or Danton's? Is victory the touchstone by which one interprets an event? Then Barras must have been the Revolution's real interpreter. There was no one true Revolution, any more than there is one true political or cosmic philosophy. But an able and determined group of men, the Robespierrists, saw things in a certain way, verbalized and interpreted them satisfactorily to themselves and to ever-widening circles, until, in the clash with other equally conceivable interpretations (*e.g.*, those of the Girondins and Dantonists), chance and circumstance, quite as much as their own logic, gave them the upper hand, and their circle for a moment embraced all of France. A thousand "ifs" along the road to power would have tripped them, and then another conception would have been solemnly enrolled in history as *the* only authentic Revolution, and someone else would have been closest to its brain and heart. If this be true, then three consequences follow. (1) What Robespierre incarnated was not *the* Revolution but *his* Revolution; he lived and spoke always consistently in terms of his own philosophy; in so far forth, he was the idol of his group, which was sometimes a small and sometimes a large group. (2) The temporary triumph of this philosophy was in part the accident of fate, dependent on such chance things as the weakness of the king and the treason of Dumouriez. (3) But to the extent that the Robespierrists (for one must include the leader's little group of intimates) succeeded in so verbalizing and living *their* Revolution that for a few months it commended itself above all

others to France—to that extent they were creators rather than mere interpreters and figureheads. Perhaps they were bigger men than we thought.

Goucher College. EUGENE NEWTON CURTIS.

Movements of Thought in the Nineteenth Century. By GEORGE H. MEAD, Late Professor of Philosophy, The University of Chicago. Edited by MERRITT H. MOORE, Professor of Philosophy, Knox College. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1936. Pp. xxxix, 519. $5.00.)

IN that portion of his province which may be termed the history of the mind the historian owes much to such a volume as this. If ideology is a flower, though it may be only a weed, it must have roots, and human thought has a way of becoming linked with such solid things as politics and economics. Man has been called a gregarious animal; he is also a philosophizing animal. Nor is this true alone in the realm of a Kant or a Spinoza; uncouth folk, "Muggletonians, Come-outers, Groaners", have their varieties of *Weltanschauung*. The luxury of utopias, panaceas, and all-embracing creeds to explain the universe or regenerate society is no monopoly of the elite. Where thought runs wild it may produce many eccentricities. These may be negligible as to influence, yet sometimes the uncouth becomes the dominant. In any case, the study of thought, whether genuine, quack, or propagandist, goes to the core of the historian's problem.

The present work is the second of a series of three to comprise the life-work of George H. Mead. *Mind, Self, and Society,* edited by Charles W. Morris, came first; *The Philosophy of the Act,* edited by John M. Brewster, Albert M. Dunham, and Charles W. Morris, will complete the trilogy. Mead never intended the pages before us for publication. Reluctant to crystallize his thought in print, he had avoided publication till, in 1931, untimely death ended his continual tendency to set his reflections in a new frame. The material of the book is nearly all "taken from stenographic notes" (p. vii) of classroom lectures, also described (p. viii) as "verbatim recordings". Errors of transcription have been pretty well eliminated, but the reviewer offers a guess with regard to a passage in the first chapter. The intellectual or scientific world of the Middle Ages, so the passage reads, was "all shot through with magic and historiology" (p. 4). In his skepticism concerning any meaning for "historiology" in this connection the undersigned begs to suggest that the word spoken was "astrology", and it may be added that, if "historiology" is an error, it is precisely the type of error that would arise in transmuting stenographic symbols into words. In general, however, the sentences and phrases seem to be those of Mead, not of the editor or stenographer. The style is sufficiently clear, even conversationally simple, as befits classroom lectures to undergraduates; yet it lacks distinction, and in a few places it is inexcusably bad, as in a passage on Kant (pp. 45-46) in which the same thought is tiresomely repeated and the word "experience" ("expe-

riencing", etc.) is used sixteen times within a page. The book could probably have been shortened by half with no substantial loss and much gain.

If trends of thought are the warp of the book, what was happening in the nineteenth century is the woof. One of the merits of Mead's treatment is his awareness of such factors as the surge of nationalism, the social implications of the industrial revolution, the crumbling of feudalism, the rise of capitalism, and the increasing self-consciousness of the masses. Without the dovetailing of such factors with thought movements the book would fail to satisfy in that it would lose touch with reality. Beginning with a summary of tendencies "from renaissance to revolution", Mead deals in his early pages with transcendentalism, especially with the synthetic a priori judgments of Kant, which he relates to the revolutionary theories of Rousseau, to Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, and to that nineteenth century romanticism which arose from the frustrations of the French Revolution. In this romantic movement is found a turning to the medieval world in a new effort to find something in which to believe. Schiller's *Die Räuber* illustrated the tendency, as did also Carlyle, champion of feudalism and searcher after the hero or strong man. The movement also found expression in Coleridge, De Quincey, and Scott. In his treatment of the concept of evolution Mead is interested in the work of Darwin and Lamarck not merely for their results; he takes their findings as examples of the orientation of thought with research science, whose "ramifications . . . in other fields" (p. xxv) he constantly stresses. Nothing, says Mead, is "so universal" as the scientist's task, nothing so social. "There cannot be any narrow provincialism or patriotism in science" (p. 168).

The industrial revolution with its stress of surplus population, its quest for markets and profits, and its drive toward capitalistic exploitation is treated as the successor of an earlier feudalism and in contrast to the phase in which most of the population had been governed by squire and curate (p. 174). In varying forms the industrial revolution produced the English gentry philosophy, the Manchester school of *laissez faire,* the utilitarianism of Bentham and the Mills, and the dismal economics of Ricardo and Malthus. Yet by reaction it also produced socialism and the fateful ideology of Marx, who saw class war as the inevitable fruit of exploitation and who envisaged a coming effort to "get all the capital into the hands of the community" (p. 219).

In later pages Mead deals with realism and pragmatism, the vitalism of Bergson, behaviorism, and the contributions of Royer-Collard, Cousin, Herbart, Boutroux, and Poincaré. He does not treat Nietzsche, Schopenhauer, Münsterberg, or Spencer; nor do American thinkers "rate" in his pages. In keeping with the title twentieth century writers are omitted. Philosophies of history are not his main interest, which is rather the linking of thought with science. He ends on the theme that continual restatement "is what

science wants" and that "flight to irrationalism is unnecessary". Though singularly free from obscurity the book is not "easy reading", *i.e.*, journalistic or popular; yet because of its distinctive contribution, as well as for the need of volumes which mediate between the philosopher and the general reader, it is of high value. The work of the editor, while unobtrusive, is competent and illuminating.

University of Illinois. J. G. RANDALL.

Norway's Relation to Scandinavian Unionism, 1815-1871. By THEODORE JORGENSON, Professor of Norwegian History and Literature in St. Olaf College. (Northfield: St. Olaf College Press. 1935. Pp. v, 530. $3.50.)

IN this volume Professor Jorgenson presents the results of a thorough and extensive study of the Scandinavian movement in Norway in the nineteenth century. Scandinavianism, which began to appear first in Denmark in the 1830's, had in view the merging of the Northern kingdoms into a political unit while at the same time securing to each component state complete autonomy in domestic affairs. The movement soon gained enthusiastic adherents beyond the straits and in its heyday it was something that statesmen had to reckon with even beyond the boundaries of the North.

Though the author is interested chiefly in the Norwegian phase of the agitation, he has found it necessary to deal in a measure with the movement as a whole. He finds it rooted in the romantic mood of the time, which sought satisfaction in an older age when the Northern stem was not yet so completely divided as it came to be at a later time. Practical considerations led in the same direction, especially an uneasy feeling that with such powerful and aggressive neighbors as Russia and Prussia a divided North could enjoy no real security. Important, too, was the interesting fact that the Danish dynasty in the male line was on the point of becoming extinct. There were many who hoped, especially in Denmark, that the king of Sweden might be brought into the succession on the passing of Frederick VII.

There was, however, no statesman who had the prestige and the power required to bring the matter to a successful issue. Charles XV evidently believed that fate had chosen him for a stellar role, but in this he was clearly mistaken. Nevertheless, the author believes that in 1848 the attainment of Scandinavian unity was a real possibility (p. 164). The rock on which Scandinavianism ultimately foundered was the national movement in Norway, which, though in clear evidence in the revolutionary year, had not yet acquired strength sufficient to hinder progress toward a larger unity.

In his chapter on "the collapse of unionism" the author presents a careful analysis of the new Norwegian movement in its political aspect and shows how the efforts of Charles XV and his counselors to transform the union of Norway and Sweden into a real instead of a merely personal union made the Scandinavian ambitions impossible to realize. A series of

amendments to the Act of Union came before the Storting in April, 1871. After a vigorous and somewhat emotional debate they were defeated by a vote of 92-17. "Thus the curtain went down on Charles XV's drama." As a practical issue Scandinavianism had ceased to be.

University of Illinois. LAURENCE M. LARSON.

Friedrich List: Der Mann und das Werk. Von FRIEDRICH LENZ. (Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1936. Pp. x, 441. 15 M.)

LIST'S *Das nationale System der politischen Ökonomie* has long ranked among the classics, but the full force of his effervescent personality and the wide range of his ideas and plans have been disclosed during the past decade by the publication of twelve folia volumes of his *Schriften, Reden, und Briefe.* The Friedrich-List-Gesellschaft, founded in 1925, was dissolved on the completion of the work, but his papers have been assembled in the List-Archiv at Reutlingen, his native town, and a Friedrich-List-Stiftung has been created. Since the World War many Germans have turned to List and to his works for inspiration and guidance in the task of rebuilding the shattered structure of German national life. In an age of economic nationalism it is not surprising that men should find much of interest in the life and writings of a thinker who, a century ago, emphasized the development of all the productive forces of the nation as the basis of national power. To present-day Germany List's political views have no appeal; his parliamentary liberalism seems out of date. But his repugnance to "das Judentum" as the embodiment of a "rein handelskapitalistischen 'Schacher'-Geistes" and many of his social and economic theories are looked on as sympathetic and fruitful stimuli.

Friedrich Lenz, a son of the more famous historian, Max Lenz, has been closely associated with the work of the Friedrich-List-Gesellschaft. His monograph, begun in 1929, appeared at the same time as the last volumes of the *Schriften* and is based on a thorough knowledge of the sources and relevant studies. His aim is to describe the work and the personality of List in relation to the political and social movements of Germany before the Revolution of 1848. The book is not a biography or a systematic exposition of List's views but a blending of the two. The headings of the main sections indicate the scope and plan. The introduction, "Ein Deutscher im Vormärz", is followed by six main parts: "Friedrich Lists Staats- und Gesellschaftslehre"; "Nationalwirtschaft und Deutscher Bund"; "Im Kampfe mit den Territorialgewalten"; "Krisis und neuer Horizont" (List in Switzerland, France, and the United States); "Allgemeine Bewegungen im deutschen Vormärz"; "Der Mann und das Werk". There is an appendix on the Allgemeine deutsche Verein zum Schutz der vaterländischen Arbeit of 1848, which was inspired by List's ideas. Sketch maps illustrate List's plan of 1833 for a German railroad system and his forecast of a world system of communications. There is an analytical table of contents and an index of the more important names mentioned in the text.

In minute detail Lenz discusses List's activity as a political and economic agitator, the sources of his ideas, and their relation to a multitude of major and minor contemporaries. He is particularly concerned to show that although List was early stamped as a demagogue and was included in the "Red Network" of his time, he was never really a revolutionary like the Follens, Venedey, and many others with whom he was sometimes in contact. The book is not easy to read. It includes a mass of details and mentions many names, often with only brief identification and comment. The method of presentation involves some repetition, and cross reference is inconvenient, for the references are not to pages but to sections, as "Hauptteil B. 1. Kapitel. Anm. 6". It may be regretted that out of the fullness of his knowledge Lenz did not give us the definitive biography of List. He has, however, done much to make that biography possible by this monograph, which offers much valuable comment on List and his times, an analysis of many of the problems, and a guide, though not a systematic one, to the sources and literature.

University of Minnesota. LAWRENCE D. STEEFEL.

Quellen zur deutschen Politik Österreichs, 1859-1866. Unter Mitwirkung von OSKAR SCHMID herausgegeben von HEINRICH RITTER VON SRBIK. Band II, *November 1861 bis Januar 1863;* Band III, *Januar 1863 bis März 1864.* [Deutsche Geschichtsquellen des 19. Jahrhunderts.] (Oldenburg i. O.: Gerhard Stalling. 1935; 1936. Pp. xvi, 821; xviii, 826. 52 M. each.)

WITH these two volumes, containing 1086 documents largely unpublished before, Professor Srbik fulfills the first half of his task of printing the sources for Austria's German policy from Villafranca to Königgrätz. The first volume of this work was reviewed in the October, 1935, issue of this journal, pages 143-145. The present volumes unfold before us the criticism which greeted Beust's plan for the reconstruction of the Germanic Confederation; the Austrian counteroffensive against Bernstorff's revival of the idea of a closer union of the small German states under Prussia; the Hessian constitutional struggle; the entrance of Bismarck as Prussian minister-president upon the stage of German and European high policy; the origin, progress, and aftermath of that brilliant fiasco, the Frankfurt Congress of Princes; the Schleswig-Holstein crisis and the Austro-Prussian alliance. Volume III ends with the successful completion of General Manteuffel's mission to persuade Franz Joseph to join Prussia in the invasion of Denmark. Of the four changes through which Austro-Prussian relations passed between 1859 and 1866—*rapprochement,* open rivalry, alliance, gradual estrangement—the present volumes cover the second and half of the third.

A high degree of accuracy has been maintained. Dr. Schmid's editorship has met the test required in clarifying the numerous drafts of the Austrian plans for the Congress of Princes and the remodeling of the Confedera-

tion. But why are cross references given only to preceding documents, not to those following? And the unfortunate limitations placed upon the editor's assistant in referring to previous publications are responsible for such incongruities as under No. 1421, where reference is made only to the excerpt of the same document previously printed by Ibbeken in the *Auswärtige Politik Preussens,* while the complete document in Steefel's well-known work is passed over in silence.

These sources are well selected to reveal Austrian policy in considerable detail yet without duplication or excess. The few glimpses into the secret relations between government and press, such as the offer of Prince Thurn and Taxis to place his two thousand postal employees and his wide press connections at the service of Franz Joseph's policies, suggests a fruitful field for special research. Occasionally, where general European questions are entangled with German affairs, as in the beginnings of the Austro-Prussian *rapprochment* in November, 1863, the true picture is not always apparent. From the documents here presented we might think that Bismarck took the initiative, whereas actually Rechberg did so. Bismarck's policy, as seen in Karolyi's manifold reports, is sometimes more fully presented than Austria's, and at last we have the complete version of that famous and often printed Karolyi-Bismarck interview of December 4, 1862, where the turbulent Prussian advised Austria to move her center of gravity to Hungary.

Of the three chief sets of problems in the study of Austria's German policy—relations with Prussia, relations with the other German courts, and relative influence of Franz Joseph and his various advisers in the formulation of policy—the first has been the most exploited up to the present, and the third is not greatly advanced here. It is the second which receives the greatest clarification in these volumes—Austria's less spectacular exchanges with the German states, her fostering of the brood of larger and smaller chicks in the barnyard of the Confederation, rewarding this one, disciplining that one, advising, encouraging, admonishing. There is so much new material that one surmises that many a German doctoral thesis will be written out of it. We shall not prejudice such worthy endeavors by divulging secrets, especially since they are far too numerous to summarize, and none is important enough to deserve special mention. But we can now test the truth of Prussia's often repeated complaint that Austria was always inciting the German states against her, and the Austrian defense that Prussia frightened those states so that they naturally sought refuge with her. The fact is that Prussia's ambitions did frighten many of these states, but not so much that they gave themselves entirely up to Austria. What usually happened was that several of the hardier spirits—Beust (Saxony), Dalwigk (Hesse-Darmstadt), Prince Wittgenstein (Nassau), and sometimes the representatives of Württemberg and Hanover—did urge Austria to take stronger action against Prussia. With this encouragement Austria then prodded the hesitant King Max of

Bavaria and the tough-skinned elector of Hesse-Cassel and other waverers to join the rest of the crowd in an attempt to outvote and overawe Prussia by force of numbers in the Diet. But in the Hessian and Schleswig-Holstein questions Prussia had not much opposition from her rival.

The impression produced by these Austrian documents is that in 1861-1863 Prussia was trying to divide Germany both economically and politically, and that to this end she was exploiting her "nuisance value" to hamper Austria's efforts. Austria, on the contrary, appears to have been trying to unite Germany both for her own advantage and that of the other states—all except Prussia.

The evidence on the origins of the Frankfurt *Fürstentag* bears out in all chief points the story as told by Fröbel. The new materials here are the successive memoranda and drafts by Dörnberg-Gruben and by Biegeleben, the marginal criticisms by Rechberg and Franz Joseph, and the important changes suggested by Schmerling. On the crucial question of whether Austria should monopolize the presidency or divide it with Prussia and others, and whether Austria's outlying possessions should be defended by the *Bund* members, the wiser provisions of the early Dörnberg drafts were unfortunately amended by the Austrians themselves. On those rocks, more than any others, Franz Joseph's great bid for the permanent leadership of Germany came to grief.

Cambridge. CHESTER W. CLARK.

Rêve et réalité dans l'oeuvre économique et sociale de Napoléon III. Par H. M. BOON, *docteur ès lettres.* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1936. Pp. xi, 176. 25 fr.)

PERHAPS of all statesmen of the nineteenth century Napoleon III has been the most unfairly treated and the most misunderstood. Victimized in turn by adulatory friends and by belittling enemies, he has emerged in his latest biographies as a ghostly figure, part dreamer and part conspirator, to be recalled chiefly as the agent of a notably tortuous and disastrous foreign policy.

Towards a better understanding of the emperor a Dutch scholar has contributed the monograph before us. It is based on original research and takes account of all important secondary literature on the subject. It eschews consideration of domestic politics and international affairs and concentrates on the single task of tracing the personal influence of Napoleon III on the social and economic achievements of the Second Empire. These achievements are, of course, important; and it is useful to have them grouped and surveyed together. Dr. Boon has devoted a chapter to the social activities of the early 1850's—the mutual aid societies, the retreats for old age, the councils of *prud'-hommes,* the charitable enterprises of the empress; another to the stimulation of economic development—the new banking establishments, the elaborate railway construction, the expositions of 1855 and 1867—here emphasizing the

influence of the Saint-Simonians; a third chapter, especially illuminating, to the rebuilding of Paris, with some reference to similar public works at Lyons; a fourth to the change of economic regime from protectionism to free trade, foreshadowed in an imperial proposal of 1856 and consummated in the Cobden treaty of 1860—here Dr. Boon leans heavily on the distinguished work of Professor Arthur Dunham; and a final chapter to the "democratic Caesarism" of the 1860's, the effort, admittedly unfruitful, to offset bourgeois defection resulting from the Cobden treaty by winning working-class support for the empire by partial legalization of trade unions and by hesitant patronage of socialistic proposals.

In all these matters Dr. Boon attempts, with varying degrees of success, to distinguish between the role played by the emperor and that played by his subordinates and to show the continuity of Louis Napoleon's thought and purpose from the days of exile and propagandist writing in the 1830's and 1840's to the last days of exile and apology in the 1870's. Always there is insistence upon his sympathy with the poor and equally upon his tenacity and his sense of the practical. Sometimes there is a trace of piety in Dr. Boon's characterization of Louis Napoleon, as, for example, the ascription to him of "a great modesty".

Some defects appear in the main part of the monograph. The social legislation of the Second Republic is undervalued, and no mention is made of the work of the Vicomte de Melun. No attention is paid to taxation or public finance in general, and no particular attention to the serious charges of financial corruption in connection with Morny's meteoric career or with Haussmann's engineering projects. Most serious of all is Dr. Boon's failure to detect hasty improvisation, along with stubborn preseverance, in Napoleon III's social and economic policies.

We cannot blame Dr. Boon for not writing a different book, but if he were to write a monograph on Napoleon III as the first democratic politician in Europe, as the statesman first clearly exposed to what Ortega has analyzed as "the revolt of the masses" and first meeting it with some of the arts of the present-day popular dictator, we would then have a still better understanding of the matters discussed in the present book. As it is, it goes far to substantiate Dr. Boon's thesis that Napoleon III was less a disciple of the first Napoleon than a precursor of a later age.

Columbia University. CARLTON J. H. HAYES.

Gambetta and the National Defence: A Republican Dictatorship in France. By J. P. T. BURY, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1936. Pp. xxiv, 341. $7.00.)

IN some ways the Third Republic has inherited more from Leon Gambetta than from Thiers or Jules Favre. At the moment of its founding Gambetta seemed to have lost his hold. Later there came a return to political life, and it was then that he had the reward of seeing his ideas prevail. Younger than

the other statesmen of France, he represented a new generation of ideas. Unlike them he emphasized the theory of the sovereignty of the people, and he would have had its practice prevail to the very extent that it prevails in France today. He was constantly harping on the theme of the parliament *and* the people: "Experience will show that there is incompatibility between parliamentary monarchy and universal suffrage. National sovereignty exists only where the parliament, named by all citizens, possesses the direction and the last word in the treatment of political affairs. When a power exists that may hold the parliament in check, national sovereignty is violated."

Unlike many of the older statesmen he was a follower of Comte, a positivist and realist. He was an anticlerical who would have gloried in the separation of church and state and in the establishment of public education closely directed by the parliament. All these things came when Leon Gambetta was no more. He was, however, their early prophet and advocate.

The present book treats of Gambetta's life to the time of his retirement in 1871. There have been other biographies of the "dictator". One excellent study by Joseph Reinach appeared in 1918. Another biography, more popular, by Paul Deschanel, was published in 1919. That part of Mr. Bury's book which describes Gambetta's activities during the last years of the empire, the war, and the days immediately following the armistice, provides a fresher, more reasonable, and well-supported interpretation of his policies and aims. The same cannot be said, however, of the earlier part of the book. Gambetta's environment and early experiences have been condensed into a very meager first chapter of nineteen pages. If environment and heredity ever played a part in the making of any statesman's character, they seem to the reviewer to have done so in the case of Gambetta's. There was not only much of Danton in his make-up, there was also very much of the Gascon. There is little attempt to explain it in this chapter. Again, there was a great significance in the men with whom he was associated during his first days in Paris. He held forth not only at the Café Procope but also at other rendezvous where he met Spuller, Hebrard, and other journalists of the opposition. His association with the new *Revue politique et littéraire* had much to do with the forming and expression of his ideas. In short, the author plunges us into the brilliant public life of Gambetta before the reader really knows the man himself.

Near the end of the book there is a very fine chapter entitled "Gambetta's Republic", in which Mr. Bury handles admirably the difficult problem of the "dictator's" theory and practice.

Yale University. JOHN M. S. ALLISON.

Jean Jaurès: A Study of Patriotism in the French Socialist Movement. By HAROLD R. WEINSTEIN. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1936. Pp. 200. $2.25.)

DR. Weinstein's book is a welcome addition to both the literature con-

cerning French socialism and that dealing with modern nationalism. Books in English on the French socialist movement are relatively few, and this work serves as a useful complement to Samuel Bernstein's *Beginnings of Marxian Socialism in France,* which appeared a few years ago. Even more scarce are works dealing with the relationship between socialism and nationalism.

The appearance of this study of Jaurès at this time, moreover, serves to present the proper historical background for the Popular Front situation in present-day France. More than ever does the spirit of Jaurès hover over the policies and tendencies of French socialism today. The words which he pronounced more than forty years ago at the time of the Dreyfus affair serve today as the underlying philosophy of the *Popular Front.* "Yes, indeed," wrote Jaurès, "present-day society is divided into capitalists and proletarians, but at the same time it is menaced by the offensive return of all the forces of the past, by the offensive return of feudal barbarism, by all the power of the church, and it is the duty of socialists, when republican liberty is endangered, when intellectual freedom is in danger, when freedom of conscience is menaced, when the old prejudices which bring back race hatred and the atrocious religious quarrels of ages gone by seem to reappear, then it is the duty of the socialist proletariat to march with those bourgeois groups which do not wish to face backward" (Rappaport, *Jean Jaurès,* p. 379).

The problem which Dr. Weinstein raises, even though posed a bit too sharply, is a crucial one for the socialist movement. It is the problem of reconciling national patriotism, which "implies that a nationality . . . is the important social unit", with the socialist class struggle, which "implies that the class is the important social unit, that the proletarian class and the bourgeois class within the nationality are enemies" and "that there can be no true cooperation between them to further what patriots consider the general interests of the nationality". Together with left wing Marxists Dr. Weinstein holds that the "class struggle is the root idea of socialism only when it is the point of departure for revolutionary strategy and tactics" and that the spread of the national patriotism of which Jaurès was an exponent "coincided with the disappearance of strict adherence to the concept of the class struggle" (p. 5). This whole problem is skillfully treated in the chapter dealing with the conflict between Jaurès and Gustave Hervé, the erstwhile exponent of *sans-patrie.*

From a larger point of view the movement described by Dr. Weinstein is significant because it shows that between 1789 and 1914 the spirit of nationalism had penetrated so deeply into French consciousness that the humanitarian nationalism of Jaurès was no longer considered sufficient. The view of Jaurès that true patriotism consists not in "preferring France passionately" but in realizing that the "true formula of patriotism is the equal right of all *patries* to liberty and justice" was considered treason to

France and earned for him the assassin's bullet. As an epilogue to Dr. Weinstein's book we might point out that nationalism has developed so far in France since the death of Jaurès that even the ideological heirs of those whom Dr. Weinstein calls the true Marxists are no longer satisfied with merely a Popular Front of leftists but seek to replace it with a wider "French Front" of a more truly national character.

New York City. KOPPEL S. PINSON.

Albert of Belgium, Defender of Right. By ÉMILE CAMMAERTS. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1935. Pp. xiv, 477. $5.00.)

THE vogue of historical biographies continues unabated. Two dealing with Albert of Belgium appeared last year. The one here under review enjoys the advantage of being written by the well-known Belgian literary critic and poet to whom both the royal family archives and personal recollections of the king's entourage were freely accessible. As one would expect from so distinguished a writer, the rich material is exploited with a keen sense for its dramatic values. For example, instead of bringing in the fateful events of the beginning of the war where they would be expected in the narrative, they are lifted out of their chronological setting and put at the beginning under the title "The Night of August 2, 1914"; like an overture to an opera, this suggests at the outset the motifs and themes of the Great War. These are then dramatically interwoven throughout the biography with the moral courage, wisdom, and forthright simplicity of the monarch.

The more distinctly personal aspects of the story are told in the chapters on "Rising Popularity", in which are sketched the boyhood and education of the prince and heir, the "First Years of the Reign", "The Man and King", and "The Last Climb". This does not mean, however, that the king is lost sight of in the rest of the volume. Though frequently crowded into the background, Albert is never entirely off the stage, for as Cammaerts says, "The Life story of the King was so intimately associated with that of the nation that his biography is also the history of the reign."

"The Rule of Law" (chapter III) gives a historical account of "how Belgium was neutralized" and how she maintained her neutrality. "The Gathering of the Clouds" (chapter IV) tells the story of the increasing tension in the relations of the European powers during the decade before the war. It is here that disagreement with some of the author's views is apt to occur, despite his penetrating and often rather original interpretation of the evidence on the question as to whether the military conversations of 1906 and 1914 were a violation of the spirit of Belgian neutrality. This is followed successively by "The Country's Defense", "La Panne, 1914-1918", "The Return", and "Reconstruction, 1918-33". The high point in the drama is reached in the account of the four years of Spartan heroism in the little coast village of La Panne in the corner of Belgium unconquered by the

Germans and transformed into the military and diplomatic nerve center of Belgian resistance.

The story is based on official documents, memoirs, and other source materials in print, as well as upon the memory of many persons still living who were close to the king. Specific references for citations from official materials are not given. On the other hand, references to memoirs and similar works by chapter and verse gives the effect of overemphasis upon the more ephemeral material, the dangers of which are well known. Nevertheless, the historian should be greatly indebted to the author for collecting and sifting so much evidence of this character while it is still available. The account of prewar diplomacy and of the violation of Belgian neutrality follows in the main the accepted views of the years immediately following the war, with the use of some more recent material. The account in Bülow's memoirs of the attempt of the Kaiser to win over Leopold II to his side in 1905 is presented with dramatic effect in a few convincing sentences.

The volume contains hitherto unpublished photographs taken from the collection of Queen Elizabeth, reproductions of the first and second draft of Belgium's answer to Germany, and four maps from General Galet's *King Albert and the Great War*. Written in an attractive style, with a sobriety and restraint befitting the dignity of the subject, the volume is a suitable monument to the memory of Belgium's popular war monarch, who is regarded by many as the "first of the immortals of the titanic struggle".

University of Pennsylvania. WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH.

The Cambridge History of the British Empire. Volume VIII, *South Africa, Rhodesia, and the Protectorates.* Edited by A. P. Newton and E. A. Benians. Advisor in South Africa, Eric A. Walker. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1936. Pp. xxv, 1005. $11.00.)

No part of the British Empire, not even India, has had so full, colorful, and interesting a history as southern Africa. The action and interaction on one another of the three great groups of human beings—British, Boer, and Bantu—with their periodic tensions and releases make up a highly dramatic story, the end of which, as far as white men and natives are concerned, is not yet. It is this that makes this last volume of the eight-volume *Cambridge History of the British Empire* the most interesting of the six so far published.

Following their usual plan of securing as collaborator some local authority with firsthand knowledge of the subject, the general editors chose Professor Eric A. Walker, King George V Professor of History in the University of Capetown, as their South African advisor. No better choice could have been made, for Professor Walker by his university teaching and research and by his important publications, such as the standard *History of South Africa,* the scholarly *Lord de Villiers and his Times,* and the colorful *The Great Trek,*

was obviously the man to attempt the difficult task of suggesting the topics, delimiting the space, and recommending the contributors.

Two thirds of the twenty-eight contributors are South Africans, and it says much for the improved relationships between the two white groups in South Africa that there is no trace of racial bias in the volume although British and Dutch have been quarreling for over a century, and that the editors have been able to induce scholars of both British and Dutch origin to contribute to this volume. It says more, perhaps, for the scholarship of the Afrikaans-speaking scholars that their English is indistinguishable from that of their English-speaking colleagues. One wonders what proportion of scholars of British origin could have been secured in bilingual South Africa if the volume had been written in Afrikaans!

To attempt to encompass the full history of the sub-African continent in thirty-two chapters and a thousand pages will of course satisfy no one completely. To the present reviewer the chief weakness of the work is the scanty treatment given to the so-called native question. The problem of the attitude which the white governing group, at present numbering just under two million, has taken towards the six million people of African origin, a problem which has colored the history of South Africa at every turn, deserves much more than the three chapters and the scattered references elsewhere given to it, even though a more adequate treatment of it would have involved curtailing the early history of Cape Colony. Luckily, however, one of the chapters on native affairs, Professor I. Shapero's account of the Bushmen, Hottentots, and Bantu, is one of the best in the book. In the short space of twenty-eight pages he gives us an admirable anthropological summary which is a model of clear, compressed, and sound thinking. To restrict Professor C. W. de Kiewiet to twenty pages in describing the much more important "Social and Economic Developments in Native Tribal Life" is unfair to the subject and to the writer. The result is that the almost complete disintegration of the African's culture through contact with the all-powerful European civilization has not been adequately described either in its historical or its sociological aspects. While some reference is made in other chapters to the Natives Land Act of 1913 and to the Color Bar Act of 1926, no comment is made on the iniquitous Pass laws, the antiquated system of native taxation, or the inadequate provision for native education and other welfare services. It is not surprising, therefore, that little or no reference is made to the few ameliorative measures, such as the Native Administration acts of 1920 and 1926, the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923, and the creation of special departments of native labor and native agriculture.

That the volume does not pay sufficient attention to what may be called social history is made evident by the scanty reference to the poor whites and the inadequate treatment of South Africa's cultural development. The attempt is made to compress the treatment of this last subject, covering the

development of the church and missions, the press, education, art, science, English and Afrikaans literature, into thirty pages. It is on a par with the general neglect of native affairs that no reference is made to literature written by Africans. The remarkable collection of Zulu folk and nursery tales collected and published by Dr. Henry Callaway under the title, *Izinganekwane,* the famous historical romance, *Chaka,* by Thomas Mofolo, which Sir Henry Newbolt thought worthy of an introduction, and J. H. Soga's standard ethnographic study, *Xosa Life and Customs,* are not even mentioned.

On the other hand, the volume has many merits. With skill and judgment the contacts of South Africa with the rest of the world from ancient and medieval times down to the Portuguese, Dutch, British, and German invasions are traced painstakingly and accurately, and although the chapters are by many hands, there is a minimum of overlapping. To be sure, some of the chapters on the early history of Cape Colony will be of interest only to the close student of history who, by the same token, will look in vain for any equally detailed account of the history of the northern republics, but the general reader will be deeply interested in the admirable chapters on the Jameson Raid, the struggle for supremacy between the British and the Dutch culminating in the Boer War of 1899-1902, the generous gesture of the British government in granting responsible government to the Transvaal in 1906 and to the Orange Free State in 1907, and the wise, cautious, and statesmanlike steps by which the Union of South Africa was achieved in 1910. How firm that union was, and how loyal Generals Botha and Smuts were to the British Empire, are clearly shown in Professor Ewing's brilliant chapter on "South Africa in the World War". Of particular interest to American readers, especially in these days when the relationship of the states to the federal government is keenly debated, is an accurate and helpful chapter on "The Union Constitution and its Working" by Professor J. H. Mandelbrote. One of the topics of this chapter, the admirable judicial system of the Union, is developed more fully by Mr. Justice E. F. Watermeyer in an interesting chapter which shows how the basic Roman-Dutch law in South Africa has been slowly and wisely modified by legislation and by British trained judges and lawyers. South Africa has been particularly fortunate in its legal system and in the caliber of the men who have administered its laws.

The relatively rapid change of status by which, alongside the British Empire, there has grown up the British Commonwealth of Nations is one of the most noteworthy developments in modern political history. It is interesting to see in Professor Walker's admirable chapter on "South Africa and the Empire" how important a part in this development was played by the three great South African soldier premiers, Botha, Smuts, and Hertzog, and how successive imperial conferences culminated in the Statute of Westminster in 1931, by which the sovereign independence of the Dominions was recognized and the only link binding them to the mother country was the

possession of a king in common, a fact which recently came to prominence in connection with the abdication of King Edward VIII.

In its comprehensive sweep, the volume includes brief histories of the Rhodesias and South West Africa, countries which are bound to have increasingly close relations with the Union of South Africa and possibly incorporation with it.

Special mention should be made of the altogether admirable bibliography of nearly one hundred pages based partly on manuscripts in public and private archives and official papers and publications, and partly on materials supplied by the authors of the several chapters. The index, however, might have been more complete, and there is a lamentable dearth of maps.

Yale University. CHARLES T. LORAM.

General Smuts. By SARAH GERTRUDE MILLIN. Two volumes. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1936. Pp. viii, 366; viii, 464. $3.50 each.)

GENERAL Smuts has been fortunate in having as his contemporary biographer Mrs. Sarah Millin, the well-known South African novelist. She has had access to many of his papers and has enjoyed much of his confidence, and the resulting life is an important contribution to history as well as to literature. The general's great contemporary, Cecil Rhodes, was not so happy in this respect. Those who knew him best seem to have been overpowered by their loyalty to his memory and afraid lest any word should suggest that their god had feet of clay. The peak of discretion was reached with the official life of Rhodes written by Sir Lewis Mitchell, Rhodes's banker.

Mrs. Millin's life of Smuts may not be pure history, but it will always be necessary to the student of the British Empire's most interesting Dominion. The career of this great South African follows a pattern which will be familiar to readers in this country, who will recognize the early days of tending sheep and cattle, the eager interest of the family in the career of the bright boy, and the efforts of all to secure for him the distinction of education. They may even recognize the provincial outlook of the young Smuts as he embarks upon his college career—though the fearful apprehensions of temptation, not merely of the flesh but of religious backsliding, sound a little strange today, like stepping back into Sandford and Merton.

In contrast to Rhodes, Smuts does not seem to have had, or to have been able to express, that personal interest in men as fellow human beings which earned for his rival such unbounded and affectionate loyalty. He is not a good mixer but rather gives the impression of being a scholar and a soldier obliged by circumstances to be a politician, combining intellectual outlook and executive ruthlessness with condescending flexibility. Mrs. Millin puts it this way: "Smuts hurts the eager vanity of the giving world by asking nothing of his fellows." Such a type does not endear itself to the multitude. As a scholar his adventures into the realm of philosophy have not been with-

out distinction and honor. His record as a soldier is to be found in the campaigns in German South West Africa and Tanganyika, and we catch fascinating glimpses of him as a master of guerilla warfare in that entrancing book by Denys Reitz, *Commando.* As a leader of the people he is less satisfying.

As a young man Smuts played a leading if ineffectual part, as President Kruger's state attorney (attorney general), in the negotiations immediately prior to the Boer War. Had he enjoyed greater confidence from either the president whom he served or the British high commissioner with whom he dealt, the tiresome arguments concerning the franchise and suzerainty might have been guided into the channels of diplomacy and thus to settlement by agreement. As we can now see, the seeds of trouble in South Africa lay in Europe rather than in English or Afrikander hegemony. The "uitlander" whom President Kruger hated so bitterly now enjoys political privileges greater than the British government of the day asked on his behalf, but for all the wealth and acquisitiveness of the Rand magnates, not they but the people of the old president rule South Africa. The Boer republics exchanged a vague obligation to British suzerainty for an explicit association with the British Empire, but ironically enough that has meant not a loss but a gain in international status, as we see in the presence of a South African minister at Washington.

As Mrs. Millin tells the story of the Anglo-Boer contest it is, naturally, incidental to the life of Smuts. Those who want a larger canvas are now fortunately able to find it in the recently published volume on South Africa in the *Cambridge History of the British Empire.* Mrs. Millin sees it in terms of two men—on the one side Kruger, an obstinate Calvinistic patriarch incapable of either the compromise or the martyrdom by which his country's independence might have been saved, and on the other Milner, an Englishman bitterly impatient of the deviousness of diplomacy and unable to see that it was the absence of strength that had called forth the less generally admired characteristics of the president's policy.

In the formation of the union of the colonies and the two former republics Smuts played an important part, though not everyone will agree that it was quite so decisive as Mrs. Millin believes. The Union was primarily an accomplishment of the good sense of the community as a whole. But was it not that single-minded Englishman, Lord Selborne, who by a superb combination of common sense and idealism won the convictions of the South African people? Smuts did bring to the resulting conferences a detailed plan for the Union (just as later he was ready with a plan for a league of nations), he certainly "propagated the idea by letter, print and public speech", and it was fortunate for the Union that so influential a leader on the Boer side was equipped with a stanch faith in the British constitutional system, the flexibility of which, he recognized, was more suitable for

South Africa than a rigid constitution on the American pattern. Moreover, in England's unwritten constitution, resting upon a supreme parliament, he saw the essential strength of the new British Empire.

Those interested specially in South Africa's greatest problem, the native question, may be disappointed in finding so little reference to it. Here again the admirable sections in the *Cambridge History* by Professor de Kiewiet and others will restore the balance.

As Mrs. Millin moves with her subject out of the South African into the European area her personal detachment increases. The impression gains of Smuts as a world statesman whose promised greatness has not been realized, while the reader's sense of the empire's debt to him grows. In the second volume Mrs. Millin reillumines those dark and painful years when the defection of Russia, the defeatist movement in France, the military collapse of Italy, and the success of the submarine war seemed like the gathering anger of gods bent upon the destruction of the British people. General Smuts remains throughout confident in spirit, competent and strong in action. Not that he was indifferent to the emotional stresses around him, but he had a certain flinty hardness in his character; as his biographer says: "If he were not the servant of his conscience he might be a dictator." Mrs. Millin describes him as a "natural negotiator" and a "peace-at-any-price man". The first he certainly is, but nothing in the book bears out the second characterization. There was a price he would not and did not pay, as witness his amazing expedition into Cape Colony during the Boer War in obedience to strict loyalty rather than common sense, and, much later, his iron hand in dealing with the strike on the Rand.

His part in the formation of the League of Nations is well known, and that is a chapter in the history of the world not yet closed. The future alone can measure his stature as a world statesman, but the peoples of the British Commonwealth accept him here and now as one of their greatest men. It was Smuts who first used that historic title when he declared in 1917, "the British Empire is much more than a state . . . we are a system of nations, a community of states and of nations far greater than any empire that has ever existed . . . which I prefer to call the British Commonwealth of Nations".

Mrs. Millin cites her sources with elaborate detail. The student will not fail to note how large a proportion are "personal" or "private information". There is a list of published sources which includes official documents.

New York City. ANGUS FLETCHER.

War Memoirs of David Lloyd George. Volume V, *1917-1918.* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1936. Pp. 464. $3.00.)

"I make no claim to be ranked among the exalted fraternity of War historians", Lloyd George admits in his foreword to Major French's *French*

replies to Haig. "But it is of vital importance that we who were witnesses of its [the war's] events or actors in them should place on record as fully and fairly as we can the facts known to us now while there are fellow witnesses still available to correct or complete our account. . . . I have tried simply to record my own recollections and impressions." That some of these impressions may have altered between the time of their original reception and that of their being written into memoirs, Lloyd George concedes: "In the cold, clear light of history events and the principal actors in them take on a colour very different from that which they seemed to mean at the time." This is evident from his own memoirs as the volumes multiply. He gives not only his own recollections with the support of many *pièces justificatives* but also constant reflections of his acquaintance with the growing historical literature on the war, particularly the writings of his contemporaries. Some of his polemics against "famous military leaders" he justifies by saying, "I can take credit for having helped to elicit further valuable historical information". Such apparent replies to Lloyd George's attacks as Duff Cooper's biography of Haig (1936), based upon Haig's unpublished journals, and Jellicoe's *Submarine Peril: The Admiralty's Policy in 1917* (1934), together with *French replies to Haig* as a by-product, would seem to have established this credit.

This fifth volume of war memoirs may perhaps be regarded as a wearisome prolongation of the story of Lloyd George's conflict with the "professional spirit": the battle between the civilians and the military for the control of the war—"Wars within Wars", in Colonel Conger's phrase (*Foreign Affairs*, Jan., 1937). Yet this is a subject, however tiresomely insistent Lloyd George may seem, which demands all the illumination possible. If the security of the state continues to depend upon trial by battle, surely no element is more vital in successful conflict than the control of armed forces. Is this to be professional or civilian? Even the most modern dictatorship may not possess the answer. It is easy to lay down the principle, as many military writers do, that the government, *i.e.*, the civilians, should define the purpose or objective of a war or a campaign and then, "hands off", entrust the experts, *i.e.*, the generals, with the conduct of operations. But in practice, under the conditions of absolute war as waged between twentieth century nationalistic communities, it is doubtful if this can be done. Lloyd George's volumes are an important contribution to the study of the problem.

There are only three chapters in this volume that do not deal almost exclusively with the military conduct of the war. Chapter II, with an appendix, recounts the efforts made, late in 1917, to state the possible terms of peace, and particularly the dramatic mission of Smuts and Kerr to meet Austrians and Turks in Switzerland. Chapter III clarifies the once obscure British policy toward the newly established Bolshevik regime and includes what Lloyd George calls "a notable State document", Balfour's "Memorandum for

the Cabinet on the Present Russian Situation". Chapter v is a Welsh appreciation of Clemenceau, "the greatest French statesman—if not the greatest Frenchman of his day".

Man power is the most important theme of the volume. It was a consideration determining, to a great extent, Lloyd George's criticism of Haig's strategy, his efforts to counter Haig's resistance by means of the Supreme War Council and the creation of a general reserve. With the subject of man power Lloyd George is thoroughly at home; it falls quite properly within the province of the statesman, or politician. It has been a subject, moreover, which many military writers have employed as a stick wherewith to beat the "ministerial poltroons". The government was blamed for several British military misadventures on the ground that it had failed to furnish the armies with sufficient numbers of men. When Haig visited General Gough during the devastating German offensive of March, 1918, he remarked, "Well, Hubert, one can't fight without men" (Gough, *The Fifth Army*, p. 253). To such contentions Lloyd George's reply is a comprehensive discussion of Britain's resources in men and a sharp criticism of the deficiencies of the military staff in the production and presentation of statistics. Not only did staff figures often lack candor, but their manipulation is a justification of the popular jibe at the possibilities of statistics. Military measurement of strength in terms of numbers of rifles intransigently ignored the results of mechanization, the real increase of fire power produced by machine guns and tanks. Referring to his own insistence (II, 67) on the provision of *sixteen times* more machine guns per British battalion than the outside figure approved by Kitchener, he writes: "I hope my critics may one day find not only the space but the grace to give one line of acknowledgement to the fact that the plenitude of machine guns, etc. was due to action taken by a civilian against the advice of the generals."

Lloyd George reveals the fact that the government, far from failing to send as many men as possible to the armies, actually took dangerous risks in dispatching as many as they did. On August 1, 1917—the eve of the great Passchendaele attack—the British forces in France numbered 2,044,627; Passchendaele cost almost 400,000 casualties; yet by March 1, 1918, the B.E.F. numbered 2,019,733. The wastage had almost been made good. If Haig felt that there was too great a shortage of men, why, asks Lloyd George, were there, on the eve of March 21, when the German attack had been momentarily expected for weeks, 88,000 British soldiers on leave in England?

The discussion of the American armies in France has been rather provocatively reported in the American press, illustrating the unfairness of dealing with a subject out of its context. Lloyd George's estimate of the co-operation of the United States is reasonably objective, but he is something less than appreciative of what American organization behind the lines,

despite its shortcomings, actually did accomplish. Notwithstanding his generally sound grasp of realities, he failed to understand that the American reputation for mechanical magic had been inflated partly by our own assurance and partly by European ignorance and wishful expectation. "The American soldiers", he concedes, "were superb", and he admits what many British and French military writers do not, that the participation of the United States armies was the decisive military factor in the final outcome of the war.

Amherst College. LAURENCE B. PACKARD.

The Balkan Conferences and the Balkan Entente, 1930-1935: A Study in the Recent History of the Balkan and Near Eastern Peoples. By ROBERT JOSEPH KERNER and HARRY NICHOLAS HOWARD. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1936. Pp. vii, 271. $3.00.)

THIS would have been a pioneer work but for the earlier appearance of Padelford's *Peace in the Balkans,* which is quite similar in scope. Kerner and Howard begin with a sweeping sketch of the Near Eastern background, continuing with the history of the first three Balkan conferences from their inception at Athens in 1930. Modeled on the League of Nations, the conferences were to promote legal, social, and intellectual equality, mutual economic assistance and defense, and peace. By creating favorable public opinion and exerting pressure on the governments it was hoped to bring about permanent institutions and a pact incorporating these aims. The second conference met at Istanbul in 1931, the third at Bucharest in 1932. The fourth was to meet at Belgrade in the following year but was postponed. This brings the story to its most important phase—the signing of the Four Power Balkan Pact of February 9, 1934, and its effect on the Balkan conferences, the fourth and last of which was held in Salonika in that year. From the start there were two opposing views, explained by the inferior position of Bulgaria and Albania, and the minorities problem. The Jugoslavs and Rumanians wished to settle the easier social and economic problems, first, either avoiding the subject of minorities or insisting on their loyalty, whereas the Bulgarians, supported by the Albanians, maintained that unless the major conflicts were removed there could be no prospect of union. For this they demanded preliminary bilateral discussions and fulfillment of obligations by governments as well as minorities. Unfortunately neither policy was carried out. The premature and partial Balkan entente, which Bulgaria could not join without sacrificing vital interests in return for no advantages and which linked Turkey and Greece with the extra-Balkan Little Entente, may be considered a product and a continuation but also a negation of the Balkan conference ideal. The effect has been an increasing coolness in some quarters towards the Balkan conferences, which have been indefinitely postponed, and a revival of bilateral agreements, the most striking of which is

the Jugoslav-Bulgarian *rapprochement*. In estimating the achievements of the Balkan conferences one must remember that they were semiprivate gatherings, whose paper resolutions did not necessarily have any consequence. Though supported by the governments, the Balkan conferences could only promote extragovernmental activities. The authors, however, rightly conclude that the tangible and intangible results of the conferences were "thoroughly worth while".

The book is furnished with generous quotations, a full appendix of essential documents, a complete list of memoranda submitted to the conferences, and a selected bibliography, which could easily be amplified. An elaboration of postwar obstacles to Balkan understanding might have formed the subject of a separate chapter, emphasizing the achievements as well as helping to explain the partial failure of the conference idea as expressed in the pact. Something also might have been written of the less official side of the conferences, the inevitable but no less valuable excursions and receptions which helped to smooth over friction and develop mutual understanding, such as the Bosphorus and Marmara trips at Istanbul and the excursions to the salt mines, petroleum fields, and Sinaia at Bucharest. A few errors have been noted in statement, translation, and transliteration. The great merit of the book lies in the thorough use and listing of documentary material bearing on the Balkan conferences and the Balkan entente and in placing this movement of regional understanding in its European setting. It is an eminently useful treatment of two of the most recent phases of the federative idea in the Balkans.

Cambridge School of Liberal Arts. JAMES F. CLARKE.

AMERICAN HISTORY

Rim of Christendom: A Biography of Eusebio Kino, Pacific Coast Pioneer. By HERBERT EUGENE BOLTON, Sather Professor of History and Director of the Bancroft Library, University of California. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1936. Pp. xiv, 644. $5.00.)

PROFESSOR Bolton and his subject are kindred spirits. Father Kino was much happier on the trail beyond the frontiers of Mexico than as a sedentary priest. Professor Bolton, by emerging from the Bancroft Library to trace Kino's expeditions in actuality, has instilled into his story vividness and authenticity too often lacking in the history of exploration. He has been no less ardent in discovering and assembling from the archives of Europe and the Americas a surprising quantity of Kino's writings. He masks his broad yet exact scholarship under an entertaining, even colloquial, narrative style. The text is abundantly illustrated with maps and photographs.

Challenged by the versatility of a missionary priest who was astronomer, explorer, cartographer, cattleman, builder, and historian as well, the author decided to tell the whole story. The underlying theme, however, for which Kino is exemplar, is in the prologue—a demand that historical justice be done to European achievement in the Southwest. Bolton's many instances of prior and much greater European impact in New Spain than elsewhere in North America should serve as correctives of those historians of the Northeast whose local interest has misled them in the past.

Kino's life (1645-1711) was an apt illustration of how South Germany remedied the decline of missionary fervor in France and Italy. A Tyrolese Italian by birth, his early religious associations and many of his fellow workers and successors in the field were German. He died before the religious slump of the eighteenth century had become obvious. Disappointed in his early ambition to go to China, he succeeded in being sent to Lower California in 1683, crossed the peninsula for the first time in 1684 (a feat here first recorded), and managed to keep up his efforts there until 1686. In 1687 he went to the lands beyond Sonora, where, from his base at Dolores, he made fifty inland journeys during the remaining twenty-four years of his life. In pursuing his principal aim, which was to link the Lower Californian missions with the mainland, he first guessed, and in 1699 demonstrated, that Lower California was not an island and that an Upper California extended to the north and west. Before he died this great contribution to geography had been accepted in Europe.

In his mission field of Pimería Alta he proved to be a peculiarly successful winner of souls and founder of missions. The Indians liked this unconventional, restless man who stood between them and their conquerors as best he could, and who taught them cattle breeding and other sedentary arts of agriculture. Unlike many other missionaries of New Spain, Kino, who often ventured into new territory almost alone, died of natural causes.

Intending readers should be warned not to look for economic or political interpretation in what is pre-eminently a detailed, enthusiastic biography. Kino started his frontier missions with the power to exempt new converts from service in the mines for twenty years, but the connection between this cedula and his successes is not pursued. Kino and his charges had difficulties with civil authority, but these are in general recorded as obstacles to his ambitions rather than explained in terms of the relationship between civil and religious policies. Professor Bolton has written the life of a missionary as he feels the missionary experienced it.

The publishers have co-operated in making a handsome book, but its several maps are so inserted that when unfolded they do not stand clear of the text, and three of the more important are folded so close to the binding as to be certain to tear.

Columbia University. J. B. Brebner.

The History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts-Bay. By THOMAS HUTCHINSON. Edited from the author's own copies of Volumes I and II and his manuscript of Volume III, with a memoir and additional notes by LAWRENCE SHAW MAYO. Three volumes. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1936. Pp. xxix, 467; xi, 391; x, 453. $15.00.)

STUDENTS of colonial New England and the Revolutionary era are greatly indebted to Mr. Mayo for this admirable edition of Hutchinson's *History*, the most scholarly work of its kind produced in any of the Thirteen Colonies. In his third volume and in the latter part of the second Hutchinson dealt to a large extent with transactions and controversies in which he was an active and increasingly important participant. With due allowance for the partisanship which almost inevitably colors such a narrative, this part of the *History* remains a major source for the politics of the period as seen from the conservative point of view—a point of view which can now be more dispassionately considered than was possible either for Hutchinson's contemporaries or for most American writers of the next two generations. His portraits of some of the Revolutionary leaders are skillfully drawn and remind one of those in Clarendon's *History of the Great Rebellion*. The characterization of Samuel Adams is doubtless the most familiar, and though it is one-sided, most competent students would now agree that it is not wholly unjust. A good example of discriminating and surprisingly sympathetic treatment of a political opponent is the portrait of Joseph Hawley, the Whig leader of western Massachusetts.

Hutchinson's narrative of the Bay commonwealth during its first century was, for its time, a piece of good historical workmanship, based on industriously collected sources, soberly and, in general, not uncritically used. An open-minded reader of this part of the *History* must admit that the traditional view of Hutchinson as a narrow-minded reactionary—a view lately popularized and adapted to current ideology by Parrington in his *Colonial Mind*—is not entirely fair to the old governor. In some respects he had a more truly liberal mind than his chief antagonist.

Mr. Mayo has given us much more than a mere reproduction of earlier editions. In the first two volumes are incorporated manuscript additions and corrections, noted by Hutchinson in his own printed copies and now published for the first time. Such revisions, whether in the body of the narrative or in the footnotes, are duly indicated. In the case of the third volume, edited by his grandson and not published until 1828, Hutchinson's original manuscript has been followed. To the author's own footnotes are now added explanatory notes chiefly for the purpose of identifying persons mentioned in the narrative; these necessarily brief notices include references to authorities in which more detailed information may be found. Prefixed to the first volume is a brief but judicious memoir of Hutchinson. There is an excellent index, with references to the notes as well as the text.

Columbia University. EVARTS B. GREENE.

The Life and Letters of Charles Inglis: His Ministry in America and Consecration as First Colonial Bishop, from 1759 to 1787. By JOHN WOLFE LYDEKKER, Archivist to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; New York: Macmillan Company. 1936. Pp. xv, 272. $3.75.)

THIS volume falls in line with the suggestion in Dr. J. Franklin Jameson's presidential address, "The American Acta Sanctorum", made to the American Historical Association in 1907, that the religious history of America should be carefully studied for the valuable light it casts on "the broad story of American culture".

Mr. Lydekker has searched the archives of Great Britain, Ireland, and the United States for Inglis letters, his own part being largely that of an editor. He does not claim to have made an exhaustive investigation of the many important questions raised, and he has refrained from incorporating his materials into the history of the times. Moreover, he has confined himself largely to an account of Inglis's twenty-five years' residence in the American colonies and his three years' residence in England as a refugee, pending his consecration as the first colonial bishop in 1787, three years after Samuel Seabury was consecrated bishop of Connecticut. The early life in Ireland and the thirty years in Canada are merely touched upon, and another volume is indicated as a possibility. A volume of the weight and authority of Norman Sykes's *Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London,* has not been attempted.

The book makes fascinating reading. It is a record of Inglis's achievement first as a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Delaware, where the life of the people is pictured in minute detail, including the hardships of pioneer living. Malaria attacked most of the missionaries and drove Inglis out of Delaware after causing the death of his first wife. In 1765 he became assistant curate of Trinity Church, New York, acting principal of King's College in 1771, and rector of Trinity in 1777. Although lacking in formal education, he was a scholar of some distinction. He knew Greek and Hebrew, and his learning was recognized by the University of Oxford with the degrees of M. A. in 1770 and of D. D. in 1778. A fine career was foreshadowed.

Nearly all the S. P. G. missionaries in America, however, were loyalists. Inglis and Seabury, among others, early joined in the pamphlet war with such men as Thomas Paine and Alexander Hamilton as opponents. Inglis's loyalism finally meant defeat, exile, emigration to England in 1783, and later consecration as bishop of Nova Scotia, for he was of Scottish ancestry, born in Ireland, and too deeply involved to be forgiven by the American patriots. Samuel Seabury, on the other hand, American born and a Yale graduate, was forgiven and consecrated as the first American bishop in 1784. The American loyalists have, of course, been studied by Flick, Van Tyne, Siebert, Abbott, and others, but the story of this one *emigré* throws much light

on the bitterness of civil war and revolution in North America, a subject to which present world conditions give added interest.

The continuing struggle for an American episcopate before the American Revolution is vividly portrayed in these pages. The reviewer is most impressed by the great ability, zeal, and stamina of the Church of England missionaries in America and amazed that these men, working in a non-Anglican environment in the middle colonies and in Connecticut, were able to accomplish so much in education and in missionary work among the Mohawks, for one example, and to establish the Episcopal Church in the United States and Canada on a firm foundation.

There are three appendixes, including one of biographical notes. A fuller, select critical bibliography would have added to the value of the book. Three volumes of great value for this work, apparently not consulted by the author, are: A. L. Cross, *The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies* (1902, 1924); W. W. Kemp, *The Support of Schools in Colonial New York by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel* (1913); and Norman Sykes, *Edmund Gibson* (1926). A few minor errors have been noted.

This volume throws many interesting side lights on colonial life and on the American Revolution and is a significant contribution to the understanding of Anglo-colonial relations in the eighteenth century.

University of California at Los Angeles. FRANK J. KLINGBERG.

Benjamin Franklin's Memoirs. By MAX FARRAND. (Reprinted for private circulation from the Huntington Library *Bulletin*, No. 10, October, 1936. Pp. 49-78.)

Some Conversations of Dr. Franklin and Mr. Jay: Being the First Publication of a Manuscript Written by John Jay in Paris during 1783-1784. With an introductory essay by FRANK MONAGHAN of Yale University. (New Haven: Three Monks Press. 1936. Pp. 17. $2.00.)

STUDENTS of Franklin have long known that Dr. Max Farrand has had in preparation a definitive edition of the Franklin memoirs, commonly called the autobiography. He now presents us with a preliminary sketch of his editor's preface and promises us not one but two new editions. For the use of scholars the text of the original manuscript now in the possession of the Huntington Library—the basis of the Bigelow text—will be printed, with the more important changes or corrections, alongside the William Temple Franklin text. The latter, Dr. Farrand cogently argues, is the best version in existence of one of the two vanished "fair copies" which Franklin had made in 1789 for Benjamin Vaughan and Leveillard. At that time he had already written three of the four "parts" of the memoirs and had made some progress in revision. Further evidence of Franklin's intentions will be supplied from the French translation of 1791, from the Robinson version of 1793, and from Leveillard's manuscript translation. In his discussion of the complex

relationships of these five basic texts Dr. Farrand displays great critical ingenuity—and a proper degree of caution. In addition to the scholars' edition a popular edition will be published embodying as nearly as may be Franklin's final intentions. Although literally hundreds of editions of this most popular of American books have been printed, none has yet served the requirements of either the scholar or the general reader.

This anomaly can be understood in view of the amazing vicissitudes which attended the writing, revision, and publication of the memoirs, as here reconstructed by Dr. Farrand. His conclusions appear to be essentially sound. They tend to rehabilitate the reputation of Temple Franklin as editor and somewhat to decrease the authority of the Bigelow text.

By an interesting coincidence the second Franklin item is intimately related to the memoirs, although the editor, Mr. Frank Monaghan, has omitted to point this out. "Mr. Jay's Manuscript"—its provenience is not discussed—is a brief fragment in which John Jay recorded certain conversations, chiefly with Franklin, which he had in Paris in 1783-1784. Jay and Franklin were on such cordial terms as to prompt Franklin to amusing reminiscences of old acquaintances and especially of the Quaker equivocations which he had observed in time of war. It is the evidence of mutual friendship that has interested the editor, who writes an introduction to demolish (as he does effectively) the legend of a Franklin-Jay feud. Curiously, he has no comment to make on the content of the conversations. In 1784 Franklin resumed the writing of his memoirs after the long lapse occasioned by the war and his public duties. The mood of reminiscence in which he conversed with Jay was likely prompted by this return to autobiography. As a matter of fact Jay recorded from Franklin's lips three of the best-known anecdotes in the autobiography (compare pp. 11-15 of the brochure with *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, A. H. Smyth, ed., I, 364-368, 389). Two other reminiscences have the same character but do not appear in the memoirs; one furnishes evidence of an important new fact relating to Franklin's appointment as public printer for New Jersey.

But in 1784 Franklin made little progress with Part II of the memoirs. The stories told to Jay were incorporated in Part III, written in 1788. No doubt these anticipations of certain of the more delightful passages in the memoirs will be properly digested by Mr. Farrand in his forthcoming edition.

University of Michigan. VERNER W. CRANE.

Marcus Whitman, Crusader. Edited by ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT and DOROTHY PRINTUP HULBERT. Part I, *1802 to 1839*. [Overland to the Pacific, VI.] (Published by the Stewart Commission of Colorado College and the Denver Public Library. 1936. Pp. xii, 341. $5.00.)

HERE is another sumptuous volume in the attractive and valuable series

initiated by Arthur Butler Hulbert and sponsored by the Stewart Commission of Colorado College. Centering in the career of Doctor Marcus Whitman, this book commanded the special devotion of Mr. Hulbert in the later years of his life. He collected and doubtless arranged most of the material personally. He had in hand the transcripts of letters and reports to and from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions seven years ago (see his "Marcus Whitman" in *Trans-Mississippi West*). Mrs. Hulbert is fully justified in stating that the publication of the volume is the realization of one of her husband's "dearest projects".

Most of the individual facts and incidents reported in the volume were already known. We have had Mrs. Whitman's journal, many of her letters and of the doctor's letters, Parker's "Tour", selected documents from the archives of the missionary society, etc. But inasmuch as these documents came to the public piecemeal and were printed mostly in scattered and fragmentary form, and especially since the most authentic collection, that of the A.B.C.F.M., had never before been fully canvassed, Hulbert recognized his opportunity to make an invaluable contribution to this missionary history by printing all relevant matter fully and in order.

The material is arranged in three parts: a biography of Marcus Whitman, 1802-1839, extending to page 77; two letters of Samuel Parker of 1835 and his "Report of a Tour West of the Rocky Mountains in 1835-1837", pages 81-135; and Oregon Mission correspondence, including diary and letters relating to the missionary labors of the Whitmans, 1835-1839, pages 139-329. Two maps, three other illustrations, and an index complete the volume. It will be observed that the terminal date 1839 antedates by eight years the tragedy which brought the mission to its close, a segment of history which will be covered in the seventh volume of the series—one that should prove of very special interest to students of the Pacific Northwest, as it will deal with the Whitman-saved-Oregon controversy.

Each one of the three parts is a distinctive contribution. The biography of Marcus Whitman, aside from its uniquely complete documentary underpinning, is characterized by a sympathetic understanding and appreciation of the missionary point of view. The Parker section, being a transcript of the original report, corrects at a few points the record printed in Parker's "Tour" and gives the reader assurance that at last he has access to the Ithaca divine's undoctored narrative. The third section contains most of the new material. It corrects the older view that Parker had selected the mission sites later occupied and compels the inference that both he and the Whitmans drew from a common source of geographical knowledge which of course was the Hudson Bay traders. It brings out the original doubts about the good faith of the Cayuse tribe.

Above all, the Whitman-Spalding letter to the board of April 21, 1838, printed in full, presents the boldest plan for saving the northwestern Indians

thus far unearthed, giving the Whitman party the ascendancy over the Jason Lee missionary party in the sweep of their conception, though the latter for a few years did most toward executing it. Hulbert treats this letter as a kind of aberration chargeable to the heated and not too responsible brain of Spalding. Despite its Spaldingesque tone, it represented true statesmanship from the missionary, especially the Protestant, standpoint. If the Oregon tribes were to be saved, time was the very essence of the problem. "Whenever this country attracts the attention of colonists", the writers fear, "it will not be so easy for us to sway the Indians for ardent spirits will enter in & who then can stay the plague." They were right in demanding resources of men and of equipment which would enable them to make settled agriculturists of the Indians forthwith as a precondition to their instruction in other civilized arts and in religion. Herein is one more proof that it was the approach from the East, by stages, which led to the planting of the Oregon missions and not the approach by sea, from Hawaii, to which the editor holds with such singular tenacity, notwithstanding his admission that nothing came of the Hawaiian contact.

A few slips were caught in reading the book, but on the whole Mrs. Hulbert has done a clean job.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin. JOSEPH SCHAFER.

Literary Pioneers: Early American Explorers of European Culture. By ORIE W. LONG. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1935. Pp. vi, 267. $3.00.)

OUR historians who devote so many pages to the international complications of the years just prior to 1812 generally preface their discussion of the following decades with the remark that the nation now turned its back on Europe and faced westward. Even when history was past politics that statement was not true, but when history became a study of the forces of civilization, the student had to remember the contacts this country continually maintained to the eastward—in Europe. Dr. Long has studied one phase of these contacts between America and Europe in the early national years—the efforts of the literary pioneers, Ticknor, Everett, Joseph Green Cogswell, Bancroft, Longfellow, and Motley, to do what they could to bring the United States into the main stream of that creative life then running so strongly in Western Europe.

Göttingen was the Mecca of these early pilgrims, and the four first named came back with a missionary zeal to form a "body of men of taste and letters". As professors they indoctrinated the younger generation, as contributors to periodicals, in particular the *North American Review* and the *Dial*, they brought to the notice of a wider literate public the works of German genius. They realized, too, the need of building large library collections before any substantial group of scholars could be created, and it was because

of the foresight of Ticknor and Cogswell that valuable books were brought to this country. As schoolmasters, Bancroft and Cogswell, in the Round Hill School at Northampton, introduced the most advanced European ideas in pedagogy, and to their classes they brought an enthusiastic appreciation of foreign literature. One of their students was Motley, who, in addition to his achievements as a historian, became one of the leading interpreters of Goethe to America. Like Motley, Longfellow belonged to the second generation of these pioneers, and through his teaching and his writings he spread his contagious enthusiasm for German literature. He was the most important of these transatlantic literary links.

Dr. Long might have given us something of a background in the eighteenth century which would have shown the earlier ties that existed between America and Germany, with which he is mainly concerned. America was not quite as isolated as he implies, but he is correct in emphasizing the role of his pioneers in stimulating their fellow Americans to higher standards of scholarship and to an appreciation of alien literatures. The wish that the German historian of America, Christophe D. Ebeling, had made in 1817 had come true. He was writing at the time about the work of the four Americans, Everett, Ticknor, Cogswell, and Augustus Thorndike, then studying at Göttingen, and added: "I hope they will be the means of a learned intercourse between the worthies of the United States and Germany" (to Professor Jos. McKean, June 11, 1817, "Letters of C. D. Ebeling", American Antiquarian Society *Proceedings*, Oct., 1925; this item was not referred to by Dr. Long). The thin trail blazed in these early years became the well-worn highway of the generation following the Civil War.

College of the City of New York. MICHAEL KRAUS.

The Flowering of New England, 1815-1865. By VAN WYCK BROOKS. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1936. Pp. 550. $4.00.)

IT is an event for Mr. Brooks, generally admitted to be our foremost literary critic, to undertake a literary history of the United States. This first volume on "the New England mind, as it has found expression in the lives and works of writers", is the most brilliant volume on that subject that has appeared. It does not supersede Parrington, who had a firmer grip on economic realities and more information on certain authors that he liked; but Mr. Brooks is Parrington's superior as an artist and critic, he has thrown light on several important figures whom Parrington ignored, and politico-moral criteria do not enter into his sense of values. Federalism, gentility, or reaction consigned an author to limbo in Parrington's *Romantic Revolution*, but dullness is the only sin reprobated by Mr. Brooks. We have left Mt. Sinai for Olympus.

Mr. Brooks has read an appalling mass of literature of the period and sifted it with consummate skill, selecting his comments in great part from

the subject's own writings; each man is thus described in his own terms or in those of the time. Only a few of the leading figures are isolated in chapters; for the most part they meet and chatter all through the book, as in life. These methods give the book an extraordinary vivacity and verisimilitude; everyone is tri-dimensional, and the background chapters, beginning with "The Boston of Gilbert Stuart", are vivid to a degree seldom attained by writers of social history. And the contemporaneous quality of the book makes it far more valuable for historical students than the subjective appraisals of American literature that have been so common of late.

There are dangers in these methods for writers less experienced or painstaking than Mr. Brooks; nor has he altogether escaped. Having eschewed the use of quotation marks in the many short extracts from contemporary literature that are woven into the text, he leaves readers perplexed as to whether they are reading Emerson or Brooks, or Emerson slightly misquoted by Brooks. He tends to jumble facts from different places and eras, as a painter mixes his colors. We all make mistakes; but Mr. Brooks boasts that he can quote chapter and verse "in some trustworthy source of the time . . . for every phrase that appears in the book". No historian acquainted with the period can fail to bristle up at this challenge! For instance, Professor Norton's carriage could hardly have been seen "every Sunday" around 1815 "drawn up beside the president's carriage at the entrance of Holden Chapel" (p. 41), because Holden had not been used for a chapel since 1764, and the Harvard presidents of that day were sufficiently able-bodied to walk 150 yards to the actual chapel. The Salem of Hawthorne's youth, a thriving, bustling seaport, is described in terms of Hawthorne's mood about twenty years later, when he was melancholy, and commerce had decayed. The statement that "Half the Boston merchants were authors themselves" (p. 178), which one might let pass as a literary exaggeration, is supported by a footnote listing Nathan Appleton on Original Sin, one lawyer who wrote political tracts, and four merchants who published nothing of any consequence. It was Marcy, not Bancroft, who "ordered General Taylor to march into Texas" (p. 131). Some of the nautical language on pages 307-309 has gone wrong. But for every slip there are a hundred epigrams and felicitous descriptions. For marine solecisms, in particular, Mr. Brooks has made ample amends by his apposite quotations on the beauty of the clipper ships (Horatio Greenough said he would not be ashamed to show one to Phidias) and by his robust appreciation of Dana's *Two Years before the Mast.*

A historian may find fault with the selection of material in a work that claims to cover the New England mind. Mr. Brooks is intensely aware of physical setting and atmosphere: east wind, trailing arbutus, Berkshire hills, all rural sights and sounds among which the New England writers moved. One only wishes he had brought in loom and spindle, shipyard and shoeshop; for Whittier and Lucy Larcom had them in mind, as Thoreau had

blue-bird and pastures. Mr. Brooks knows the value of works like *Bowditch's Practical Navigator;* but in his flight from dullness he has also shunned the dark spots in men's souls, and the social evils with which some minds of the day were deeply concerned. There are no apologetics, to be sure, no "take my stand" stuff; but one does tire of smelling blossoms—you want a sniff of manure now and then. Connecticut writers are not given fair attention. There is little or nothing on the schools and colleges, the improvement and extending of which was one of New England's creative achievements, making the American mind receptive to new influences. More bass notes of Story and Webster are wanting to balance the twitterings of Miss Peabody and her friends. Abolitionists and reformers are inadequately represented—hardly anything on Horace Mann and S. G. Howe, and Dorothea Dix relegated to a footnote. These, to be sure, had no style to interest Mr. Brooks. Horace Mann's, in particular, is to the last degree heavy and boring; but the author declares his subject to be "the New England mind", of which the reformers were an important facet. On the other hand, significant figures overlooked even by social historians, such as the artist Allston, the sculptors Greenough and W. W. Story, and James Jackson Jarves, are brought out from undeserved obscurity. Mr. Brooks is superb in describing the great figures: Longfellow, Emerson, Hawthorne, Thoreau, Holmes, and Lowell. The classic historians of the "flowering", Motley, Bancroft, Ticknor, and Palfrey, have never been better described; no student of history can afford to miss the chapter on Prescott, written *allegro con brio.* Mr. Brooks has told in an arresting, individual style, implemented by a keen critical organon and honest literary scholarship, who these men were, whence came their inspiration, and what they accomplished in the America of their day. The whole book is suffused with the morning light of that brave era when American letters took their proud place among the great literatures of the modern world.

Harvard University. S. E. Morison.

Jessie Benton Frémont, a Woman who made History. By Catherine Coffin Phillips. (San Francisco: John Henry Nash. 1935. Pp. vii, 361. $5.00.)

Few women in American history are more deserving of biographical treatment than Jessie Benton Frémont. But it was almost foreordained that a biography of her should be chiefly significant for its personal rather than its historical revelations. When a "woman who made history" dedicates her life unreservedly to a man who made history, its chronicling adds little to historical knowledge if the man has been adequately presented. Jessie Benton was such a woman, and it is Mrs. Phillips's misfortune that John C. Frémont has had adequate biographers.

As popular biography, *Jessie Benton Frémont* is quite good. On the whole it is well written. There is some appearance of padding, for two

chapters are required to introduce the heroine, while résumés of Frémont's expeditions in 1842 and 1843-1844 are incorporated to fill out the fifth and sixth chapters. Nevertheless, it contains a considerable amount of the atmosphere of official Washington and early California, as well as numerous apt anecdotes which add spice to the persistent romantic flavor. With an appropriate feminine touch Mrs. Phillips makes Jessie Frémont live and breathe, but she fails to do justice to her heroine's domineering nature.

For the professional historian, however, the book is of little value. Of Jessie Frémont's chief contributions, only her joining forces with John G. Whittier to persuade Frémont to withdraw from the presidential contest of 1864 is relatively unknown, and this probably was not as weighty a factor in Frémont's decision as Mrs. Phillips seems to believe (p. 270). On controversial matters the viewpoint of the volume is that of the Frémonts. Frémont himself appears as an unappreciated, misunderstood hero whom his wife pathetically endeavored to shield from the blasts of official ingratitude. His court-martial for insubordination in California is sympathetically handled. His Mariposa mining venture is set forth in vague terms which obscure rather than reveal. His regime in Missouri is defended, while his proclamation freeing the slaves of rebels is treated as the product of principle alone, with no admission that it was perhaps a political lightning rod.

The sources upon which the book is based include the Frémont family papers in the Bancroft Library. These are frequently quoted *in extenso* but often without indication of the date or circumstances under which they were indited. The volume is completely innocent of footnotes.

There are some minor errors of fact. Thus Monroe was not President during the War of 1812 (p. 6). Maryland, and not Missouri, was the fourth slave state represented in the Republican National Convention of 1856 (p. 203). Fillmore, although endorsed by a Whig remnant, was the candidate of the American party in that year (p. 204). Davis and Pomeroy did not initiate the Chase movement in 1864, nor was the Chase committee styled the Republican National Committee (p. 264).

Thirty-three excellent and well-chosen engravings illustrate a beautifully published volume. There are also an appendix containing Mrs. Phillips's personal recollections of Jessie Frémont's last years, a selected bibliography, a table of vital statistics, and an eight-page index.

Colgate University. CHARLES R. WILSON.

French Opinion on the United States and Mexico, 1860-1867: Extracts from the Reports of the Procureurs Généraux. Compiled and edited by LYNN M. CASE, The Rice Institute. [The American Historical Association, The Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund.] (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1936. Pp. xxiii, 452. $7.00.)

IT has been fairly well agreed hitherto that the French people, with cer-

tain exceptions, were in sympathy with the North during the Civil War because of French antipathy to slavery, their century-old alliance of sentiment with the Federal Union, and a practical desire to see this Union strong and unbroken as a counterpoise to Great Britain. It has also been fairly well agreed that, with the exception of the cotton industry, France suffered very little after 1862 from the American conflict. As to Napoleon III's Mexican venture, it has been the consensus of historical opinion that the French people strongly opposed this undertaking. Mr. Case in his volume presents documentary evidence which may force a revision of opinion among students of this period. The evidence which he offers is in the form of extracts from the secret quarterly reports of the *procureurs généraux*. It alters very little, so it seems to the reviewer, the conclusions already reached as to the French attitude toward the Mexican question. This is not the cast with reference to the economic situation in France and the sympathies of the French in regard to the Civil War. The reports of the *procureurs généraux* have led the editor to the conclusion that practically all French industry suffered during the Civil War, and that the French people, after the first few months, sympathized deeply with the South. The excerpts which he publishes certainly bear out such a conclusion. They show, however, that the French people were not willing to become entangled in a war because of their sympathies; they desired official neutrality or joint intervention in the company of England.

It is very interesting to observe that these reports of the *procureurs généraux*—the district attorneys for twenty-eight districts—to the minister of justice agree with Napoleon's version of French opinion given to the Confederate diplomatic agents, and, with certain modification, they agree with the reports of these Confederate agents to their government. On the other hand, the Confederate agents of propaganda differed considerably, in their reports on public opinion, from the emperor and from the Confederate diplimatic agents: they were less sanguine as to French sympathy. Henry Hotze, in particular, had spells of deep pessimism. He obtained his information from many sources and was inclined to discount anything coming from official French sources, which, as Mr. Case shows, were primarily the secret reports of the *procureur généraux*.

This brings up the question as to the honesty and validity of these reports. It is a truism to say that a despot, whether college president or emperor or dictator, usually gets from his subordinate executives only what he likes to hear. In this connection it is difficult to forget how Napoleon was deceived as to the condition of his army and that of Prussia just before the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War. Such considerations, it might seem, would cast doubt upon the validity of the reports which Mr. Case has edited; but a perusal of the reports concerning French opinion on intervention in Mexico will dispel most doubts as to the sincerity and honesty of

these reports. The *procureurs généraux* stated in plain language that the French people objected strongly to the Mexican venture, and this was certainly not what the emperor wanted to hear. In fact, intervention in the Civil War was really subordinate to Napoleon's Mexican intervention, for it was meant to insure the success of the establishment of a puppet empire in Mexico. It was, in short, Napoleon's greatest ambition outside of firmly establishing the Bonaparte dynasty upon the French throne. Such a test as this would seem to give strong logical support to the belief in the sincerity of these reports. Granted that they are honest, there still remains the question of validity: did they give a true picture of French public opinion? The impression arises from the excerpts which Mr. Case has edited that the *procureurs généraux* had their eyes almost wholly on the industrial population to the neglect of the rural areas. If this be true, and one would have to read the complete reports rather than the excerpts in order to judge finally, then these reports would be invalid for the rural population, which made up the bulk of the French nation in this period. At any rate, Mr. Case has made a great contribution in determining the attitude of the French people toward our Civil War.

Vanderbilt University. FRANK L. OWSLEY.

The Birth of Western Canada: A History of the Riel Rebellions. By GEORGE F. G. STANLEY. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1936. Pp. xiv, 475. $6.00.)

MUCH has been written upon the birth of the Canadian West. There are few subjects in the history of Canada that have a more extensive bibliography than the Riel rebellions; and there are certainly few topics in the whole of Canadian history that are more controversial and provocative of discussion. French-Canadian historians of the Roman Catholic persuasion have written voluminously and panegryically on the rebellions, while Protestant Anglo-Canadians, in general, have condemned the uprisings in the bitterest of terms. All have written under the guise of history, but few have been objective, and none has succeeded in telling the whole truth. As a result, until the publication of the book under review there was scarcely a volume in all the vast Riel literature that could be read with any degree of real satisfaction.

Dr. Stanley's history is a study of an entirely different caliber. In no wise can it be placed in the same category with the rank and file of materials on the subject. It is comprehensive, thorough, and objective. The author is a scientific historian, who embarked upon his task without personal bias or preconception. He went directly to the original sources, many of which had not been used before, and examined them carefully. His work is based largely upon sources in the Public Record Office, the Public Archives of

Canada, the Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the records of our Department of State. In his search for materials the author has unearthed a vast amount of new evidence which has made for a more thorough and inclusive history. Few students writing upon this subject have used the James W. Taylor papers at Washington so extensively and to such good advantage. Through the study of them and other Washington sources, the Riel rebellions are given a much broader perspective.

Dr. Stanley has divided his book into two sections. The first treats of the early settlement of Red River, the Hudson's Bay Company rule over the colony, the half-breed unrest in the middle of the century, the Red River insurrection of 1869-1870, the motives of Louis Riel, the Manitoba Act, and finally the amnesty question. The first four chapters contain little that is either new in fact or interpretation. They do, however, serve as an adequate introduction to the subject. The causes and events of the Red River insurrection are presented in a concise and for the most part detached manner. It is apparent, however, that the author sympathizes with Louis Riel in his purposes. The criticisms of the Canadian government in the handling of the Red River crisis are circumspect and judicious. Dr. Stanley accepts the thesis that the "so-called Fenian raid upon Manitoba in 1871" was in no wise a Fenian raid, but that the raid across Dakota's northern boundary was a private filibustering expedition incepted and carried on principally by William B. O'Donoghue, co-officer with Louis Riel in the provisional government of Assiniboia during the Red River rebellion.

In the second section the writer discusses the growth of settlement in the Northwest Territories, the Indian problems, the discontent of the half-breeds and the Indians, "the return of Louis Riel", the Saskatchewan rebellion of 1885 and its political results. All of these topics are treated in a straightforward and interesting way. The last chapter of the book, which deals with the political results of the 1885 rising, however, is rather too brief a treatment of a subject of such great magnitude and importance. The author would have done well to have discussed it at much greater length.

The main thesis propounded in this study is distinctly new and deserving of careful attention. Dr. Stanley maintains that the "significance" of the Northwest troubles is to be found not, as claimed by so many writers, in "the traditional hostilities of French Catholic Quebec and English Protestant Ontario" but rather "in their connexion with the general history of the frontier". Both the Red River insurrection and the Northwest rebellion, he believes, were fundamentally manifestations of normal frontier problems—clashes "between primitive and civilized peoples". They were revolts of a primitive and a semi-primitive society "against the imposition of a more progressive, alien culture". In the opinion of the reviewer this thesis is not only tenable, but the author has established it beyond question; and in so doing he has

contributed a new and significant interpretation to the story of the Riel rebellions.

Few books published in 1936 pertaining to the history of Canada will attract more favorable attention than this study of the Canadian West. Certainly few will be of greater value to students interested in the history of the Northwest.

Vassar College. JOHN PERRY PRITCHETT.

History of the American Drama from the Civil War to the Present Day. By ARTHUR HOBSON QUINN. [Revised edition.] (New York: F. S. Crofts. 1936. Pp. xxv, 432. $5.00.)

PROFESSOR Quinn, indefatigable in the study of American plays and playwrights, has recently republished this history, adding to it a chapter on "The New Decade, 1927-1936", which brings it, temporarily, quite up to date. Collectively, the catalogue makes a more impressive showing than a cursory retrospect would lead even a persistent attendant at the theater to expect. There is to a man no longer young a charm in reviving the names of men of earlier decades—Augustin Daly, William Gillette, Augustus Thomas, Clyde Fitch—and recalling, through an enumeration of their works, the brilliant players who brought to life on the stage their character-creations and the scenes in which they figured. This pleasure is not easily attainable by a young reader of today, unless, indeed, he is blessed with rare imagination; but even such a person will find much in the account of an earlier day to stimulate his interest. And when he arrives at the study of playwrights of today, he can test his knowledge and his critical judgment in reading what Professor Quinn has to say.

The chapter on the last ten years is what will attract one already familiar with the earlier edition of this history. Eugene O'Neill, Maxwell Anderson, Sidney Howard, George S. Kaufman, and Rachel Crothers are names to conjure with, and Professor Quinn deals with them and others in a fair and generally enthusiastic strain. One need not agree with his estimate of all the writers he discusses, but one will admit that he usually strengthens his argument by careful citation and critical analysis. I, for one, cannot, as Professor Quinn does, give high rank to the *Lazarus Laughed* of Eugene O'Neill. Except for Mr. O'Neill's vague reach after infinity, I cannot even follow Professor Quinn in calling the famous dramatist a poet. If one will compare the glorious poetry of Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound* with the language of *Lazarus Laughed,* he will see what I mean. Mr. O'Neill himself gives damaging evidence against himself as poet in a letter printed by Professor Quinn (p. 258). He says of his *Mourning becomes Electra:* "It needed great language to lift it beyond itself. I haven't got that." And that last gift of the gods is precisely what holds back Eugene O'Neill in his effort to reach the stars. This may be regarded as captious; but, even though I admire much of *Mourning becomes Electra,* I cannot forget Aeschylus and

Sophocles. Professor Quinn's estimate of the other important plays of the last ten years seems to me sound and interesting.

New York City. G. C. D. ODELL.

Populism in the Old Dominion: Virginia Farm Politics, 1885-1900. By WILLIAM DUBOSE SHELDON. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1935. Pp. x, 182. $2.00.)

THIS little monograph adds some details to the general story of Populism as the movement manifested itself in Virginia but does not pretend to modify the story as a whole in any essential respect.

In outline the story runs as follows: Between 1870 and 1890 farmers in general and crop-specialty farmers of the South and West in particular found themselves obtaining less and less of what they considered their share of the national income. For their plight they blamed many "enemies" but above all the federal currency system, based as it was on gold, when the supply of that metal was not keeping pace with the legitimate needs of an expanding commerce. The resulting increase in the purchasing power of the dollar bore heavily on long-term debtors, of whom farmers were the most numerous group. Despite difficulties they organized, and by the end of the eighties the various organizations had merged into two great alliances, the Southern and Northern, which henceforth acted in close co-operation. So long as political objectives were to be obtained by putting pressure on one or both of the two old parties, the alliances received the support of a majority of Southern and Western farmers. When, in 1890-1891, the more impatient and radical element gained control and determined to launch a new political party, many conservative Alliancemen fell away. This was particularly true in Virginia for two main reasons. In the first place, by 1890 most of western and northern Virginia was practicing general rather than crop-specialty farming. In this respect it resembled the East rather than the deep South and the West. In middle-southern Virginia alone was crop-specialty farming still practiced on a considerable scale, and here only did Populism take anything like a firm hold. In the second place, more than a decade before 1890 Virginia Democracy had split over the so-called "Readjuster" movement. The minority faction had merged with the "Black" Republicans, and under the shrewd leadership of General William Mahone had won elections resulting in the re-enactment of Reconstruction scenes. The Democrats regained control in the eighties, but with Mahone ever watchful and ready to take advantage of a new breach in the party of "Anglo-Saxon" civilization, rural Democrats, however sorely discontented with the Bourbon leadership of the party, were loath to desert it and reopen the way for a new "Africanization" of the Old Dominion. These two topics are the unifying themes of Mr. Sheldon's thesis, and he has performed well the task of putting them in their proper historical setting. B. B. KENDRICK.

The Woman's College of the University of North Carolina.

Tariff Policy. By O. PARANAGUÁ, Professor of Economics in the University College of São Paulo. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1935. Pp. ix, 223. $2.00.)

The President's Control of the Tariff. By JOHN DAY LARKIN. [Harvard Political Studies.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1936. Pp. xii, 207. $2.00.)

HERE are two books on the tariff which are different and at the same time supplement each other. The first, by Professor Paranaguá, may be called a notebook on modern tariff history. It gives special attention to the methods and devices of control, to the technique of trade restriction. It shows, among other things, the steps by which, in many modern states, the regulation of foreign trade has come largely into the hands of administrative and executive officers. The second, by Dr. Larkin, is a study of the situation in a single country. It shows the increasing power of the President over the tariff of the United States. Both writers recognize the fact that the shifts in control which they record are relatively recent and are a characteristic feature of the world since 1914.

Professor Paranaguá's work has been called a notebook, and this one word accurately describes the impression which it makes. The plan was too broad, the outline too inclusive, to make full treatment possible in little more than two hundred pages, but it is, in most respects, an excellent notebook. The writer has a wide acquaintance with the practices of various countries and sets them forth neatly. In the fields with which I am acquainted his work is accurate. The chapter on foreign trade statistics is an example of excellent condensation. It is in such fields as international trade theory that his method of exposition is least satisfactory, for his brief comments lend him an air of dogmatism which he might repudiate in a fuller statement. The doctrine of comparative costs can hardly be disposed of in a few pages in which it is presented as if its basis were "a natural order" and its purpose the justification of free trade. Nor can the incidence of import duties be adequately dealt with in a paragraph or two, ending with the assertion that there is no "fixed and general rule". The author's own theoretical approach to these difficult general problems is not stated. His interest lies rather in realistic generalization and in the wealth of factual detail which he presents.

Dr. Larkin's work is devoted in large part to the political and legal aspects of the flexible tariff. In the field of international economic relations the power of the President has been great since the administration of Washington. It has come to include the delegation of broad powers. It has been supported by protectionists, as in 1930, and by moderates, as in 1922. And it has not been called into question by the Supreme Court. Dr. Larkin's whole discussion is an excellent introduction to the realistic aspect of certain constitutional questions which have been given importance under the administration which has been in power since 1933.

Dr. Larkin devotes a second part of his volume to the cost of production as a criterion for tariff adjustment and a third to the control of dumping and the suppression of other forms of unfair competition in international trade. There was little new to be said on differences in production costs. His most interesting chapter is that on the place of transportation costs in the debate. Throughout his book the writer handles legal concepts with somewhat more familiarity and assurance than he does economic concepts. But he has done a valuable piece of work in a field which may truly be called political economy, and it is to be hoped that he will pursue his studies in the border lands of politics and economics, where in modern times so many social problems have been and are being worked out.

University of Michigan. C. F. REMER.

Canadian-American Industry: A Study in International Investment. By HERBERT MARSHALL, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, FRANK A. SOUTHARD, JR., Cornell University, KENNETH W. TAYLOR, McMaster University. With an Excursus on the Canadian Balance of Payments, by FRANK A. KNOX, Queen's University. [The Relations of Canada and the United States: A Series of Studies prepared under the Direction of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History, James T. Shotwell, Director.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1936. Pp. xiii, 360. $3.00.)

THIS book is the first of some thirty volumes in which it is planned to deal with various aspects of Canadian-American relations. It was supervised by Professors Jacob Viner and Harold A. Innis. The Carnegie Endowment's interest in this tremendous enterprise is effectively explained in Professor Shotwell's preface. The Endowment has desired to analyze pacific international relations in a part of the world where they are most firmly established—doubtless with a view to discovering the nature of those elusive factors which somehow work for peace between countries instead of for war.

The present volume is a study of the industrial enterprises which operate simultaneously, as organic entities, both in the United States and in Canada. It is hence in largest part a study of branch plants abroad, whether these are set up as homogeneous parts of the parent company or are separately incorporated. Everyone knows that in recent years many American firms have established Canadian branches. Here the service of the present volume is chiefly to provide precision and detail and to show that, far from being a new phenomenon, this movement goes well back into the nineteenth century. What will come as a great surprise to most students, however, is the corollary discovery that Canadian firms have also established many branches in the United States, and that relative to the size of the parent economy, this movement has been even more important than the movement in the other direction. The demonstration that the flow of enterprise has been both bilateral

and also so nearly frictionless that most people pay little attention to it, and the analysis of the general motives which have induced the two flows, are the principal contributions of the book.

The total American investment of all kinds in Canada, in round numbers, amounts to four billion dollars (p. 299). This is more than a quarter of all American private investment abroad (on other than intergovernmental accounts). It is also some fifty-eight per cent of all investment by foreign nations in Canada; by 1922 the American investment there had passed the British. Of the four billions, roughly half is in government and private bonds, minority stock holdings, and other "portfolio" securities. The other half is that "direct" investment by American enterprises as such (rather than by individual investors) in Canadian enterprises, with which the present volume is concerned (p. 21). The total Canadian investment abroad is roughly two billion dollars; this is $190 per caput; the corresponding figure for Great Britain is $460, for the United States only $140 (p. 294). The details of the composition of this investment are less clear than for the United States, but apparently a large part is again "direct" investment in American enterprises. (I am unable to find that data are given to support the estimate, on p. 177, that Canadian-owned companies in the United States employ twelve per cent as much capital as American-owned companies in Canada; nor do there seem to be totals for the first class of companies.) The chief groups of Canadian industries in which American firms have made "direct" investments, by value of capital employed, are public utilities, general manufacturing, paper and pulp, mining and smelting. Although the small companies are the more numerous, it is the relatively few big ones which do the bulk of the business (p. 29). The chief groups of American industries in which Canadian firms have made direct investments are transportation, paper, mineral products, and general manufacturing.

A wide variety of motives has induced the parent companies to establish and maintain factory branches in the other country, of which the chief have been protective tariffs, ease of post-sale servicing, consumer preferences, and transportation charges. Differences in wages and other factory costs have not been important considerations. Enterprises engaged in mining, lumbering, public utilities, and the like, on the other hand, have gone into the other country principally either in pursuit of raw materials, or to extend their operations into markets which, though across the border, were of types already familiar. But all of these motives can be subsumed under the general head of the pursuit of profits. No mysterious and ominous factors of other sorts have been in play; between Canada and the United States capital and enterprise have moved according to the prospects for profits under existing conditions and apparently with no feeling that one country was "home", the other "abroad". In this attitude doubtless lies much of the key to the long peace, and at most times the good feeling, between the two areas.

Fear has often been expressed in this country lest the growth of branch plants abroad, in Canada and elsewhere, might permanently destroy much of our export trade. The present volume lends little support to this fear. In considerable part, the branch factories were not set up to supply Canadian markets into which we would otherwise export American goods. Rather, they were set up in the main to reach markets from which American goods were already effectively debarred by tariffs, transport costs, consumer preferences, and the like, or from which impending changes in these latter factors were likely to debar them. In most cases the foreign market for our goods would have been lost anyway, or could not have been gained; the branches abroad have served as aids rather than deterrents to our national economic growth to the extent that they have provided us with profits we should not otherwise have received and with markets for special equipment, supplies, and trained men (ch. VII). It is also striking evidence of the increasing economic and financial maturity of Canada that with the passage of time Canadians are buying control of a growing number of previously foreign enterprises in Canada. Since 1932, for example, the net new expansion of American branches there has been conspicuously slowing down (pp. 262, 292).

These appear to be the principal large conclusions of the book. It is not a study which is easy either to read or to grasp, for although it is well written in detail, the complexity, variety, and frequent non-comparability of the facts examined are confusing, and the attempts to reach rather broad generalizations are not always convincing. Thus one main thesis of the book appears to be that "Canadian-American industrial interrelationships, except where distorted by barriers, are mobile and normal" (p. 262), but it is not quite clear what this means, nor what is its significance. Despite occasional difficulties of this sort, however, the book carries the flavor of authenticity; it obviously rests on a vast amount of patient, careful, and realistic scholarship; and it makes a substantial and valuable contribution to our knowledge both of Canadian-American relations themselves and of the character of international economic operations in general. Students will also welcome Professor Knox's excursus, which brings the estimates of the Canadian balance of payments down to 1933.

Columbia University. JAMES W. ANGELL.

NOTICES OF OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

GENERAL HISTORY

Historical Societies in the United States and Canada: A Handbook. (Indianapolis, Conference of Historical Societies, 1936, pp. vi, 136, $1.50.) This is a much-needed revision of and supplement to the *Handbook of American Historical Societies* (now out of print) published under the same auspices in 1926. The present handbook, compiled by Dr. Christopher B. Coleman, lists 560 historical societies, associations, and clubs in the United States and 38 in Canada, although this is admittedly an incomplete list. Of those included, 268, or about forty-eight per cent of the total, are located in New England and in the Middle Atlantic states: Massachusetts heads the list with 89, New York comes second with 55, and Pennsylvania third with 45. Fourteen of the societies listed have more than 1500 members; one (Native Sons of the Golden West) has 28,000 members, and another (Genealogical Society of Utah) has 7232. Twenty-six societies list their endowment at $100,000 or over, and their aggregate endowment amounts to $10,644,273. Incomplete though it is, the handbook provides a valuable store of information concerning the administration, activities, and resources of the principal historical agencies here and in Canada. JULIAN P. BOYD.

Internation Bibliography of Historical Sciences. Edited for the International Committee of Historical Sciences, Washington. Volume VI, *1931*. (New York, H. W. Wilson Company, 1936, pp. xxxv, 529, $10.55.) This is the eighth volume of this bibliography to appear, and the series from 1926 to 1933 inclusive is now complete. We may expect that by the end of another year the series will be upon close to a current basis. The tendency to enlarge the annual volume, so apparent during the earlier years, has been checked by a twofold method. The number of titles entered has been reduced, and the long list of periodicals examined for articles and reviews omitted, except as additional names have been inserted. The lists in the earlier volumes will usually suffice, and we are told that a separate list, extended as needed, will be provided in the near future. The occasional addition to the title of a book of an interpretative indication of its contents is to be commended. For example, at No. 4006, where the names appear of two men who are unfamiliar if not unknown to most of the historians of Protestantism, the parenthetical statement that these were "the first two martyrs of the Reformation, being burnt in Brussels in 1523" is a real stimulus to interest in even a casual survey of the titles. While a few typographical errors have been detected, comment is here limited to one point, namely, the way in which words are divided at the end of lines. To illustrate from English words only, within a space of about three pages will be found such solecisms as *tea-chings, du-ring, hi-story,* and *pu-blic.* It is recognized, however, that with the use of narrow columns, mechanical substitutes for hand typesetting, and the variety of languages occurring in the copy, ideal perfection cannot be asked for. WILLIAM H. ALLISON.

Guide to Bibliographies of Theses: United States and Canada. Compiled by THOMAS R. PALFREY and HENRY E. COLEMAN, JR. (Chicago, American Library Association, 1936, pp. 48, $1.00, planographed.) *A List of American Doctoral Disserta-*

tions printed in 1934 . . . Prepared by MARY WILSON MACNAIR. [The Library of Congress.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1936, pp. vii, 413, 60 cents.) *Doctoral Dissertations accepted by American Universities.* Number 3, *1935-1936.* Compiled for the National Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies by the Association of Research Libraries. Edited by DONALD B. GILCHRIST. (New York, H. W. Wilson Company, 1936, pp. xiii, 120, $2.00.) *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History now in Progress at American Universities, December, 1936.* Compiled by MARGARET WILLGOOSE HARRISON. [The Division of Historical Research.] (Washington, Carnegie Institution, 1937, pp. 59.) The *Cumulative Book Index,* which records the current books published in the English language, lists only a small percentage of the doctoral dissertations submitted to American and Canadian universities. This is because so many dissertations are either not printed at all or, if printed, are not issued through the regular book-trade channels. In seeking a record of them it is therefore necessary to use special bibliographies of theses. These bibliographies are of three types: (1) general lists; (2) lists recording the dissertations in some one subject field; (3) lists recording the dissertations in some one university. The *Guide* by T. R. Palfrey and H. E. Coleman provides a record of various existing lists in these three groups. In the general group there are two outstanding annual bibliographies, one issued since 1912 by the Library of Congress and giving a record of the printed American doctoral dissertations received by the Library of Congress, the other compiled by the Association of Research Libraries for the National Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies. The latter, now in its third number, differs from that of the Library of Congress in that it includes both printed and unprinted dissertations. Indication that a dissertation has been printed is given in some cases, but this is not noted uniformly, a fact which detracts somewhat from the usefulness of the list. These two bibliographies include only completed dissertations. For those in progress they may be supplemented in the general field of history by the list issued annually since 1909 by the Carnegie Institution of Washington and for Canadian history by the annual list in the *Canadian Historical Reveiw,* which records dissertations in Canadian history in progress and recently completed in universities of Canada, the United States, and some European universities.

DORIS M. REED.

Government Publications and their Use. By LAURENCE F. SCHMECKEBIER. [The Institute for Government Research of the Brookings Institute.] (Washington, Brookings Institute, 1936, pp. xiii, 446, $3.00.) Previous works designed as guides to the use of United States government documents have usually approached the subject from the point of view of the issuing departments or bureaus. While following this method to some extent, Mr. Schmeckebier has treated the publications largely according to types of information sought. General chapters describe the existing catalogues and indexes to the documents, the bibliographies issued by various departments of the government, and the methods of distributing official publications. Indication is then given as to which groups of federal documents furnish material in such fields as the conduct of Congress, federal and state constitutions and laws, court decisions, regulations and departmental rulings, presidential papers, foreign relations, reports of government departments, and bureaus and maps. Since material in one field is in many cases issued by various divisions of the government, the research worker should find this type of classification of great use. In addition a considerable amount of information is given on the idiosyncrasies of government organization and

publication, information which it would be difficult to find elsewhere and which could only be acquired by long experience in the use of the documents. To the student who has some knowledge of United States government publications the book should prove invaluable, but the beginner might do well to acquire a foundation knowledge from one of the more elementary treatments of the subject, such as Anne Morris Boyd's *United States Government Publications as Sources of Information for Libraries* (New York, 1931), before using this guide.

DORIS M. REED.

Die Inder. By ALFONS VÄTH. [Geschichte der führenden Völker.] (Freiburg i. B., St. Louis, B. Herder Book Company, 1934, pp. viii, 295, $3.00.) The author surveys the history of the people of India in three great epochs: that of the development of Hindu civilization in antiquity, of the Mohammedan domination of the Middle Ages, and of European influence and British rule in modern times. He rightly assumes that the importance of the Indians lies less in political than in cultural, especially religious, leadership. When, however, he accepts it as an axiom that India's religious leadership will reach its peak when Christianity has the maximum effect upon the country, we may question his point of view. He devotes relatively considerable space to the introduction and spread of Christian missions, both Catholic and Protestant, and probably exaggerates the influence of missionary activity upon the modern religious and other intellectual developments of India. The current movement among Indians for political independence, or at least self-government within the British Empire, he deprecates on the ground that India's greatness has not been, and cannot hope to be, political; she will exert her world influence again when she becomes Christ-like. As a survey the book adds nothing to our knowledge. The existing brief political histories of India and the joint volume of Masson-Oursel, Grabowska, and Stern on its cultural history together constitute a better summary than does the present book. Father Väth's discussion of present-day developments in India, including religion, social reform, literature, and politics—and omitting industry, architecture, painting—is so brief as to be almost valueless; we must still turn to works like the Oxford Press symposiums, *Modern India* (1931) and *Political India* (1932), Zacharias's *Renascent India* (1933), and the Earl of Ronaldshay's various volumes. The author generally fails to indicate the frequently controversial nature of questions on which he speaks without reservations.

W. NORMAN BROWN.

The Jews of Germany: A Story of Sixteen Centuries. By MARVIN LOWENTHAL. (New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1936, pp. xi, 444, $3.00.) This volume is an extraordinary, skillful, and deeply moving record of Israel among the German people. It is no mean achievement to give within the restricted space of some four hundred pages a comprehensive and well-rounded story of the many vicissitudes experienced by the Jews in Germany in the course of sixteen centuries. Mr. Lowenthal succeeds, moreover, in weaving the Jewish saga into the background of the political, social, economic, and cultural history of Central Europe, thus presenting a picture of which Jewry becomes a logical and integral part. He shows, with rare exceptions which occur toward the end of his volume, restraint, objectivity, and a sense of balance that are altogether too rare in contemporary writings on Germany. His documentation is excellent; he has an attractive style and a pleasant sense of humor. This is a book that no student of modern history can afford to overlook.

MICHAEL T. FLORINSKY.

Europe since 1914. By F. Lee Benns. [Second revised edition.] (New York, F. S. Crofts, 1936, pp. xiv, 851, $3.75.) Perhaps the most important contribution of this edition is the excellent treatment of such recent subjects as the Italian conquest of Ethiopia and the use of economic sanctions by the League of Nations in connection therewith, the rearmament of Germany, and the newly proposed Russian constitution. If Professor Benns plans to continue to keep this work up to date, he could perform a useful service by adding a few chapters of the same quality on the Americas and Africa and to his treatment of the British Commonwealth of Nations. With such chapters, together with its present non-European sections on the East, the volume would become a thorough and useful one in the larger field of world history since 1914.

Willard B. Cowles.

The Attempts to Form an Anglo-French Alliance, 1919-1924. By J. Paul Selsam. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1936, pp. x, 85, $1.00.) The failure of the United States Senate to ratify the Versailles treaty and to assume the more serious commitment involved in the proposed Anglo-American treaty of guarantee to France left French statesmen very nervous as to their future security in case of a new attack by Germany. Hence they soon opened negotiations with the British alone for a treaty of mutual support. The story of these negotiations is clearly and carefully narrated in this little volume on the basis of various memoirs, diaries, and other published material. The negotiations failed, largely owing to the French insistence that England should obligate herself to protect not only France but also Poland and the other East European states, "which are regarded by the French as the outer frontier of their country". However, as Lord Curzon observed: "This might prove a very powerful and effective form of European hegemony. But I do not think either that we want it or that the rest of Europe would welcome it." Failing to get an alliance of this wide kind, the French occupied the Ruhr. This put an end to the negotiations until they were taken up on a different basis in the Locarno conversations. Today the evaporation of the Locarno pacts and Hitler's rearming of Germany give an added interest to this good account of the French search for security in the first postwar years.

Sidney B. Fay.

Les nations anglo-saxonnes et la paix. By Charles D. Herisson. (Paris, Librairie du Recueil Sirey, 1936, pp. 12, 204, 20 fr.) In this pleasantly informal little book M. Herisson endeavors to interpret some of the more important foreign policies of Great Britain and the United States during the past few years. His major thesis is that the union of France with the Anglo-Saxon countries is a marriage based on a community of interests and ideas, more solid than marriages based on love and passion. M. Herisson is clearly appealing to his countrymen to take this into account and to think and act accordingly. American readers will be chiefly interested in the author's analysis of peace sentiments and policies in the United States. England and the United States both believe profoundly in peace and desire it greatly. But in America the antagonism toward war has been expressed in our policy of isolation. In spite of some evidences to the contrary, M. Herisson finds that, on the whole, public opinion and policy in England have increasingly recognized that well-being and safety itself can be maintained only through collective security. It is these convictions in America and in England which explain the popular willingness to accept huge armament programs. England arms to implement the policy of collective security; America arms to maintain her policy of isolation, to insure

herself protection in an unstable world in which aggression seems to be the order of the day. M. Herisson touches only very casually on the influence of armament makers; he fails to distinguish sufficiently between the peace policies of Great Britain and the sentiments of the British Dominions. He fails, too, many will think, to take sufficiently into account the internal factors in the Anglo-Saxon countries which in part neutralize pacifist sentiment. Nevertheless, his comments are frequently penetrating. MERLE CURTI.

Spain in Revolt. By HARRY GANNES and THEODORE REPARD. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1936, pp. xii, 231, $2.00.) This little book is a campaign document written from the pro-Stalinite, communistic point of view and will, therefore, disappoint readers who are looking for an impartial treatment of the civil war in Spain. The wholly inadequate nature of the historical introduction is revealed by the dismissal of the entire eighteenth century with the remark that, "Passage of control from the Habsburgs to the Bourbons in the eighteenth century is not of fundamental importance in the political development of Spain" (p. 10). Numerous errors of commission, such as ignorance of the success of the revolt of 1820 (p. 13) and the French intervention of 1823 (p. 13), show a complete lack of preparation for the task on the part of the authors. When the current situation is reached, newspaper accounts are quoted and cited which are favorable to the thesis that the loyalists represent the cause of democracy in Spain, by which the authors mean the cause of proletarian dictatorship. The book will prove useful for some future study of the war propaganda of the Spanish Revolution of 1936. ARTHUR S. AITON.

ARTICLES

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ANCIENT HISTORY

T. R. S. Broughton

History of Early Iran. By GEORGE G. CAMERON. (Chicago, University Press, 1936, pp. xvi, 260, $3.00.) The author gives an excellent survey of the history of this area from the earliest period of which any records have been preserved to the advent of the Achaemenian dynasty, when, as he justly observes, the Near East entered upon a new era. In successive chapters he treats of the land and its people, historical beginnings, Babylonian dynasts and kings of Simash,

divine messengers of Elam, Simash, and Susa, the Kassite interlude, kings of Anzan and Susa, the glory of an Elamite empire, Indo-Iranians in the Zagros Mountains, a new Elamite kingdom, Median and Persian chieftains, the eclipse of Elam, and Medes and Persians. Before the appearance of this work we had had but little except chapters IV-XI of Sir Percy Sykes's *History of Persia,* which are not based on firsthand study of the sources, so that Mr. Cameron's volume fills a longfelt want for students of the Near East generally; and since the book deals with the pre-Iranian period of Iran, it is of particular value to Iranists, who are only too prone to begin with the Achaemenian period and thus to lack adequate background. While the Indo-Iranian invasions began about the middle of the second millennium B.C., it seems to be only in the ninth century that we commence to find distinct traces of Iranians proper (pp. 139, 144). On the other hand Kassite divine names like Šuriaš (p. 91) represent the Indian rather than the Iranian stage. It may be noted that Sanskrit *márya-* (p. 134) means "(young) man, suitor" and in the plural "people" rather than "heroes", though it is also applied to the Maruts (storm gods) and other divinities. This is the gravest error that the present reviewer has been able to find! LOUIS H. GRAY.

Nouvelle histoire romaine. By GUGLIELMO FERRERO. (Paris, Hachette, 1936, pp. 334, 25 fr.) In the face of contemporary evidence and modern research Ferrero clings tenaciously to his theory that Rome was always an aristocratic republic, even in the tribal kingdom period and in the principate. He has written this one book any number of times during the past thirty years, most notably in his *Grandezza e decadenza* and in the *Life of Caesar.* Both his ideas and his method are familiar, and the present volume is no departure or advance. Unfortunately, mere repetition of a thesis, whether in one book or in half a dozen, does not constitute proof. Ferrero displays his usual ability to write excitingly, but the excitement is all on the surface, and when the surface is pricked, there is little underneath but "fate" and "degeneration", words which serve only to disguise the absence of significant and valid analysis. With his accustomed overemphasis on great men and events, he is unable to build up to the critical situations; they strike the reader in a series of overpowering crescendos which come from nowhere and lead nowhere—unless one keeps recurring to "fate" and "degeneration". The resulting picture is false, for Rome emerges essentially unchanged except in geographical extent and morality. But in fairness to Ferrero it must be said that this book, with all its platitudinous and inept moralizing, is second to few short histories of Rome and better than most. M. I. FINKELSTEIN.

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MEDIEVAL HISTORY

G. C. Boyce

Western Christian Thought in the Middle Ages: An Essay in Interpretation. By Sydney Herbert Mellone. (Edinburgh, William Blackwood and Sons, 1935, pp. viii, 304, 7*s.* 6*d.*) This is an unpretentious but stimulating introduction to the most significant problems of medieval thought. Though Dr. Mellone writes for the beginner and the uninitiated, those thoroughly familiar with the topics discussed will find pleasure and profit in reading what he has to say. The theme of the essay is the development of thought, and the author has held himself closely to his task, in competent fashion presenting its main elements in bold relief. This is not a history of medieval literature, nor is it a mere catalogue or list of biographical sketches. It is a study in synthesis. Philosophical and theological problems are approached historically, and the development, expansion, and fusion of ideas critically and clearly explained. The first section introduces the reader to the spirit of the Middle Ages and describes the transmission and transformation of the antique and patristic heritage prior to the twelfth century. One of the best sections, and the longest, is that explaining the years between Anselm and Ockham. The word Scholasticism will lose many of its erroneous and unpleasant connotations for those who read these pages, as Mellone shows that it was, after all, many things to many men and not a rigid concept equally applicable to any period and varying conditions. Although Plato, Aristotle, and the theologians receive much attention, the scientists are not neglected, nor could they be. The long, never-ending conflicts between nominalism and realism are approached with understanding and developed in proper sections of the essay, not restricted merely to the discussion of Abelard, mentioned there and then forgotten. Only fifty pages are devoted to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Répertoire topo-bibliographique des abbayes et prieurés. Edited by L. H. Cottineau. (Mâcon, Imprimerie Protat Frères, 1935 ff., each fascicle 50 fr.)

When completed this repertory will be a valuable aid to all who are concerned with monastic history. It lists alphabetically monastic establishments throughout the world, including contemporary as well as the earliest foundations, and gives the vernacular and Latin name for each center, descriptions of varying length, and pertinent bibliographical references. Fascicle 5 was published in October, concluding with the entry "Liancourt-St.-Pierre, arrondis. Beauvais, Oise". The entries to date require sixteen hundred quarto columns.

Cathedral: A Gothic Pilgrimage. By HELEN HUSS PARKHURST. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1936, pp. vii, 304, $4.00.) This volume should attract many readers; it has been well planned, skillfully composed, and written in a prose that is colorful, rich, and clear. Aided by the grant of a fellowship from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, Miss Parkhurst was able to visit the monuments of which she writes so vividly. She has confined her study to the cathedrals of France, these representing the supreme architectural expression of the Middle Ages. The study has been broadly conceived and is not devoted exclusively to architecture; it undertakes to portray "the cathedral not only as the focus of mediaeval life, but as the mirror of that life, reflecting with amazing completeness the beliefs, hopes, fears, dreams, and mystical imaginings of mediaeval man". By generous use of apt metaphor the author infuses life-blood into stone, wood, and glass, until the cathedral seems to vibrate in harmony with the life it reflects so abundantly. The comparison with Émile Mâle's *L'art religieux en France* and Henry Adams's *Mont Saint-Michel and Chartres* is an obvious one. These books will stand side by side on many shelves—Mâle presenting a synthesis rich in fact and interpretation, the sensitive intuition of Adams still carrying him unharmed over erroneous fact to great heights and placing him in a realm that is his alone, while Miss Parkhurst, with her sound scholarship and keen perception, may claim a place close by.

Dictionary of Writers of Thirteenth Century England. By JOSIAH COX RUSSELL. [Special Supplement No. 3, Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research.] (New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1936, pp. x, 209, $2.00.) Readers of Professor C. G. Osgood's distinguished *Voice of England,* recalling his reference to those "almost dumb centuries from the *Battle of Maldon* to Chaucer", may find something of a challenge in Professor Russell's *Dictionary.* Here is definite proof that in England cerebration was not suspended, at least not during the thirteenth century, and that Latin was a ready tool when men had something to say. About 350 writers are named, and for each Professor Russell has sought to present all the available information he could discover. He has very wisely avoided duplicating well-arranged information that is easily accessible, referring the reader to such material directly. "The authors are listed by the only real mediaeval name, the Christian name. Under each article an effort is made to define the claims of the man as an author if there is any doubt in the matter, or to point out where such information is available." There is, however, a direct attempt "to avoid an air of controversy". The author has done an inestimable service for all students of the thirteenth century, for we now have a vast amount of scattered information, often difficult of access, collected in convenient and usable form by a scholar whose patience, industry, and skill deserve high praise. In many cases manuscript sources as well as printed sources have been consulted.

Lübeck als Geldgeber Lüneburgs: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des städtischen Schuldenwesens im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert. By GERHARD FRANKE. (Neu-

münster, Karl Wachholtz, 1935, pp. viii, 92, 4.80 M.) Franke's scholarly work on Hansa town finance constitutes a valuable key to the economic life of both Lübeck and Lüneburg in the later Middle Ages. Up to the middle of the fourteenth century, Lüneburg salt was the principal staple for Lübeck's financial investments. However, Lüneburg's War of Succession, *ca.* 1370-1400, almost exhausted her financial resources. For financial support she depended upon cities like Lübeck and Hamburg and on the capital of religious institutions. Her salt mines were no longer adequate to guarantee necessary loans, and she had to resort to short-term interest bearing loans. This opened a new avenue of safe investments for Lübeck's merchants and religious establishments. Franke sets forth the general financial transactions carefully and in detail. Thanks to a system of financing by interest bearing loans, Lüneburg was saved from falling into the hands of unscrupulous creditors. The development of this system was gradual, starting with special pledges (a sort of friendly transaction) and developing into general pledges, thus changing from perpetual loans to redeemable or amortized loans, first for the borrower and then for the creditor. By adding the clause, "pay to the order of the bearer", the stock was changed into negotiable paper, not unlike modern stocks and bonds. Franke has proved beyond doubt that although Lüneburg salt remained one of Lübeck's staple investments, short-term redeemable loans with high interest became predominant during the Succession War. Lübeck's investments in Lüneburg were not amortized until after 1400. The climax was reached in the years 1390-1400, when salt rents and credit demands reached the staggering sum of 142,104 Lüb. M. (or 105,200 R.M.). In addition to exhausting the printed sources, the author has exploited a wealth of archive material and has incorporated some of this in valuable appendixes. A good working bibliography concludes the volume.

DAVID K. BJORK.

Calendar of Ormond Deeds. Edited by EDMUND CURTIS. Volume III, *1413-1509.* [Irish Manuscripts Commission.] (Dublin, Stationery Office, 1935, pp. xxxi, 432, 20*s.*) The documents of this volume of a very valuable calendar throw light on the darkness of the fifteenth century in Irish history, the century described by the editor as that of the real "introduction of English rule, law, speech, and civilization", as well as the "adoption of Irish language and culture by the descendants of the first feudal settlers". The documents calendared, and sometimes also transcribed in complete form in the case of the more important, are very varied in nature. They contain grants of lands and liberties, indentures, quit claims, letters patent, pleas held in various Irish courts, especially of the liberty of Tipperary, rentals, inquisitions, and many others. Their content cannot be examined in so short a notice as this, but attention may be called to those that throw light on the Butler pedigree and on the powers of the great earls of the south, and those that give the names of incumbents of various important offices in the Irish government. The editor identifies jurisconsult with an old Brehon officer. A document of "King Edward" seems to fit best in probable date and content with the royal claims of Lambert Simnel. Evidence may be found also for the working out of Poynings's Act of Resumption, for the existence of the sheriff's tourn, for outlawry procedure, for the barring of an entail which may be compared with "Taltarum's" case. Pardons enumerate the offences most commonly committed against the English government. There are one or two interesting admissions of individuals to English law. One, described as *de nacione sanguinis hibernicalis,* is to hold as true *anglicus* enjoying the *lex anglicana.* There is an index of persons and places and a long appendix

marked Addenda which contains a summary of documents accompanying a "Council roll of 16. Richard II", already published by James Graves.

N. Neilson.

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MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE

R. L. Schuyler

Les origines du capitalisme en Angleterre. Par JEAN-YVES LE BRANCHU. (Paris, Recueil Sirey, 1935, pp. 95.) Based entirely upon easily accessible printed sources, this brief account of the progress of capitalism in England from the late Middle Ages to the end of the eighteenth century, with special emphasis upon the formative period, 1551-1640, adds little to the work of Lipson, Unwin, Tawney, Nef, and Gray. Unlike many writers on capitalism, M. Le Branchu has the courage to define the term. Capitalism is characterized by a roundabout process of production involving social and technical division of labor; entrepreneurial control over raw materials, production, and sales; and dependence upon a remote and uncertain market, thus introducing a speculative element and a risk-bearing function. M. Le Branchu denies the validity of the widely accepted thesis that a commercial revolution paved the way for and conditioned the industrial revolution. The growth of commerce and industry was interdependent; but, if causality must be conceded to one or the other, industry, he thinks, has the stronger case. The repeated efforts of the crown to curb exports of wool needed by domestic industry are taken as evidence that commerce actually hindered the development of the all-important woolen manufacture. Unfortunately the export demand for cloth and the role of commerce in the accumulation of capital to finance industrial expansion are neglected. Accepting the doubtful thesis of Max Weber, M. Le Branchu ascribes great importance to Protestantism, more individualistic and tolerant of interest than Catholicism, as a promoter of capitalism. But it is possible that prohibition of interest, when effective, actually favored capitalism by forcing businessmen to trade actively and assume risks. In the opinion of the reviewer the greatest weakness of M. Le Branchu's study is his failure to mention the most important single factor in the rise of modern capitalism in England, namely, the great lag of wages behind prices during the price revolution of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. EARL J. HAMILTON.

Ireland through Tudor Eyes. By EDWARD M. HINTON. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1935, pp. viii, 111, $2.00.) This book will be useful to scholars chiefly as a kind of catalogue of Tudor writers on Irish affairs, with some brief biographical memoranda about them and occasional quotations from their works. It gives very little space indeed to the great figures like Raleigh and Spenser but notices a whole crowd of more obscure writers, some twenty-six all told, most of whom were writing about Irish affairs from personal Irish experience. The three appendixes furnish some slight material heretofore not printed in full upon the life of Barnabe Rych. CONYERS READ.

Buckingham, 1592-1628. By M. A. GIBB. (London, Jonathan Cape, 1935, pp. 334, 15*s*.) Prior to the appearance of this book only one life of the famous royal favorite had appeared since 1800, and that was Philip Gibbs's *Romance of*

George Villiers, the First Duke of Buckingham (1908), which, as the title suggests, deals with Buckingham largely from the romantic point of view and, though there was plenty of romance in the duke's life, is not adequate for the purposes of the professional historian at least. Those who were disappointed in Gibbs will also be disappointed in Gibb. Both books have been written from the same point of view and with similar objectives. Gibbs sought to present Buckingham as "the typical adventurer of a time when it was the recognized profession to be an adventurer for kings' favors". Gibb undertakes, without attempting to excuse Buckingham's mistakes, "to explain his activities, to show that he was not the altogether vicious and irresponsible being some historians have represented him and to recreate something of that personality—the 'Steenie'—who captivated the affections of two succeeding English kings". The two books differ, however, in two essential respects. The present one is less detailed and considerably shorter than its predecessor and merely quotes occasionally from some of the letters of Buckingham and his wife which are reproduced in full in the earlier volume. As a book of reference for the general reader or the student pursuing a general course in English history and even an advanced course in the Stuart period, the book under review will serve a very good purpose. For the scholar, however, a definitive life of Buckingham has yet to be written. E. M. VIOLETTE.

A Catalogue of English Newspapers and Periodicals in the Bodleian Library, 1622-1800. By R. T. MILFORD and D. M. SUTHERLAND. [Proceedings and Papers of the Oxford Bibliographical Society.] (Oxford, the Society, 1936, 25*s*.) The Bodleian Library contains a collection of English newspapers and periodicals that is surpassed in importance only by that of the British Museum, being especially rich for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This elaborate catalogue will be of great assistance to students of English history and literature.

Négociations de M. le comte d'Avaux en Irlande, 1689-90. With an Introduction by JAMES HOGAN. [The Irish Manuscripts Commission.] (Dublin, Stationery Office, 1934, pp. 13, 756, 15*s*.) This volume is a reprint, by useful photographic process, of one which appeared in a very limited edition about the year 1845. The earlier edition was used by Ranke, who, however, preferred the originals in the French archives (*History of England,* Oxford, 1875, IV, 535). It was also employed by Macaulay and by later writers. The materials here set forth extend from February 11, 1689, to April 12, 1690, and contain the detailed observations of a skilled French diplomat. They constitute a source of first-rate quality. It is in some measure to be regretted that the text was not collated with the originals at the Quai d'Orsay. Had this been done, doubts as to the verbal accuracy of the dispatch as quoted by Macaulay in support of his charge that D'Avaux advocated a wholesale massacre of Irish Protestants would be set at rest. As it is, we are left to note that the text cited by the Whig historian fails to agree with that given in this volume (*cf.* Macaulay, *History of England,* London, 1914, IV, 1682, and *Négociations,* p. 372). Collation would likewise have eliminated doubts as to minor points of dating (Ranke, IV, 540 gives the date of June 3, 1689, to the dispatch which is dated June 5, 1689, in the *Négociations*). Some comparison of the printed text and the originals was, however, made, since the Irish Manuscripts Commission note that their text exhibits only "the largest and most valuable part" of D'Avaux's correspondence. They promise a supplement to remedy this defect, together with an index which will render the present volume and the projected supplement much easier to use. ROBERT H. GEORGE.

John Wesley and Modern Religion. By UMPHREY LEE. (Nashville, Cokesbury Press, 1936, pp. xiii, 354, $2.50.) Among all the biographies of John Wesley and the numerous special studies which have been made of the various phases of his life and work, none have treated adequately his theology and religion. It has been taken for granted that he was primarily an organizer, and his life has been appraised almost exclusively from that angle. The present volume attempts to make up for this lack, and we have here presented a thoroughgoing study, based entirely on the sources, of his religion and theology. The author's purpose in making his study was to answer the question, "Does Wesley have anything to offer us in meeting the religious perplexities of our own time?" The eighteenth century presented many of the same religious and theological problems which we face today. Deism and the eighteenth century revolutionary philosophy had well-nigh bowed God out of all participation or concern in the affairs of men, as the new humanism has done in our own time. Wesley gave large place to emotion in religion and furnished an emotional basis for good deeds, yet he had no intention of reducing religion merely to emotion. He was fully aware of the many evils in the world, but he believed that by the grace of God, plus discipline and education, these could be overcome. And the author holds that this formula may well be applied to the evils and wrongs of our own time. This book is not a biography, but it may well be read to supplement some of the excellent single-volume lives of Wesley which have appeared in recent years, such as Arnold Lunn's (1929) and C. E. Vulliamy's (1932). WILLIAM W. SWEET.

The Political Influence of Queen Victoria, 1861-1901. By FRANK HARDIE. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1935, pp. 258, $3.50.) The study of British monarchy is at present of particular interest, and Mr. Hardie's contribution is decidedly useful. He begins with the death of the prince consort, maintaining (a shade too positively, perhaps) that the queen's personal influence did not properly come into play until after that event. Laboring especially to show how far she managed to affect the composition and the decisions of her ministries, he succeeds in correcting both Lytton Strachey and Bagehot, not to mention Mr. Lowell. The materials on which the work is based—the *Letters of Queen Victoria* and a creditable range of books and articles—are quite well known. There is no ground for criticism here; but in some respects the monograph is vulnerable. There are strange lapses here and there, such as the acceptance of the old story of the war scare of 1875—an acceptance for which Lee's *Edward VII* is cited as final authority! And, while such instances are fortunately rare, one finds whole sections to which more planning, more compression, and more reflection might have been applied. But the main criticism arises from the fact that the author did not, perhaps could not, give sufficient reading and sufficient space to parts of his subject. Especially in the chapter on foreign affairs there is many an episode concerning which we learn only Victoria's views and the outcome. As to how her influence was brought to bear, and in how far it was effectual, we can only speculate. But future pictures of Victoria, fighting a stubborn, by no means strictly constitutional and by no means wholly unsuccessful "rearguard action" in behalf of conservatism, should all owe something to this book. HERBERT C. F. BELL.

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ARTHUR LYON CROSS. The Mythical Billions of Sir Francis Drake. *Michigan Alumnus*, Winter.

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FRANCE

S. B. Clough

Rochambeau, Father and Son: A Life of the Marechal de Rochambeau and the Journal of the Vicomte de Rochambeau. By JEAN-EDMOND WEELEN. Translated by Lawrence Lee, with a Preface by Gilbert Chinard. (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1936, pp. xvii, 285, $3.00.) It is probably true, as suggested by Professor Chinard in his preface to this book, that the work of Rochambeau has not been adequately appreciated, but it is not likely that the volume under review will do much to remove the injustice. What merit the book has is confined almost entirely to the second part, in which is published the journal of Rochambeau's son. The first part, the biographical account of the marshal by M. Weelen, is an unhappy example of the unwisdom of trying to subordinate history to literary form. Those who delight before all else in a bright and dashing style may be entranced, but those who seek the careful evaluations of serious history will feel they have been chasing a will o' the wisp whose sprightly leaps and bounds so bemuddle the vision that the general pattern of the story, if any, is nearly incomprehensible. The journal of Rochambeau's son, the Vicomte de Rochambeau, has some sober historical merit, although it adds little that is new. Its chief value lies in its illustration of the way things in America, from the character of individuals to the general condition of the country, appeared to French eyes. Although quite capable of error, the Vicomte was an observer of some ability, and his journal adds a little to a true perspective of the war. TROYER S. ANDERSON.

Robespierre. By G. J. RENIER. [Appleton Biographies.] (New York, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936, pp. 176, $1.50.) The author of *The English: Are They Human?* has turned his gifts for the observation and understanding of human beings to Robespierre and has produced a delightful essay which, though eminently readable, still deserves the current word-of-all-praise in the historical profession: it is "sound". Dr. Renier, though he seems to have abandoned academic scholarship for free-lance writing, is after all a Ph.D. in history. He makes here no pretense to research, but he has obviously a good critical acquaintance with writing on Robespierre and on the Revolution. A Dutchman equally familiar with French and with English civilization, a liberal not obsessed with the haunting alternatives of fascism and communism, he approaches the study of Robespierre with no nationalistic, no party, no dialectical cause to serve. One may detect in him a certain bias in favor of common sense, moderation, good writing, and against the more titanic of our modern assaults on heaven. The Robespierre who finally emerges from his pages is not the Robespierre of Aulard or of Mathiez; he is closer to the Robespierre of Mr. Belloc or of Dr. Rohden. But Dr. Renier's Robespierre has a touch of pathetic futility not elsewhere so well brought out. Mr. Belloc more than half believes in the power of the Word —even of the mistaken Word; and Dr. Rohden's life of Robespierre was the tragedy of the *idéologue*, and even the idealist, in politics. Dr. Renier is more concerned with the man and with the *comédie humaine*. Robespierre, he concludes, was not a dictator, not a man of action. "His intelligence, penetrating and limited, was that of a contemplative, his outlook that of a history don who has dabbled in philosophy. . . . Not his principles, but the fact that he was too certain of them, brought him into the arena." CRANE BRINTON.

Le Général Malet, conspirateur. By LOUIS GARROS. (Paris, Plon, 1936, pp. 306, 15 fr.) This is a popular study of the ill-fated plot of General Malet against Napoleon in 1812. Malet hoped to seize power by spreading false news of Napoleon's death.

Madame Tallien, royaliste et révolutionnaire. By the PRINCESSE DE CHIMAY. (Paris, Plon, 1936, pp. 310, 18 fr.) The story of Madame Tallien's versatility in winning the affections of leaders of the various political regimes which succeeded each other from 1789 to 1830 is recounted again in a sympathetic fashion. "Notre Dame de Thermidor", as she was called, had a record for change almost equal to Talleyrand's.

Paris, 1870-1935. By JULES BERTAUT. Translated into English by R. Millar. Edited and brought down to include the events of 1933-5 by John Bell. (New York, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936, pp. xv, 295, $3.50.) This book, as its author states in the preface, is not a history but an attempt to reproduce what he calls the "social climates" of the last half century in Paris. It is a description of the people of the Third Republic, their activities, their passions, their ideas and sensations. Although it is not history, the book may be of interest to students of France. Few Americans, even of those who deal with French contemporary history, are fully conscious of the currents and crosscurrents of French life and opinions. In Paris gossip never dies. The "inside stories" of men and events are whispered about for years and, though rarely made public, influence opinion and action. It is this kind of information which Monsieur Bertaut hands on to us, and most of his stories will be familiar to those who know their Paris. But as social history his book must be taken with great caution. A large part of what M. Bertaut tells us is unproved and even dubious. The book also suffers from a

few minor faults in an otherwise agreeable translation. Yet so little exists in English on contemporary France that this volume may be welcomed.

CHARLOTTE T. MURET.

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THE NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

A. J. Barnouw

Histoire des Pays-Bas du XVI^e siècle à nos jours. Par H. A. ENNO VAN GELDER. (Paris, Armand Colin, 1936, pp. 194, 10 fr. 50.) This excellent little volume shows succinctly and clearly how the present-day kingdom of the Netherlands developed out of the seven Dutch provinces which revolted in the sixteenth century against the king of Spain. Dr. Van Gelder does not devote undue attention to political history. The expansion of commerce in the late sixteenth century, the rise of new industries in the seventeenth, the settlement of colonies, the social and economic condition of the people, church and religion as molders of society, Holland's contribution to science, art, and letters are all discussed with sober restraint, without any trace of chauvinistic pride.

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H. J. Broekveldt. Economische Crisisvoorzsiening in Nederlandsch-Indië. *Economist*, Dec.

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Germany, Austria, Hungary, Switzerland

E. N. Anderson

Übersicht über die Bestände des Geheimen Staatsarchivs zu Berlin-Dahlem. Part 2. By Heinrich Otto Meisner and Georg Winter. [Mitteilungen der Preussischen Archivverwaltung, Heft 25.] (Leipzig, S. Hirzel, 1935, pp. 272.) Anyone who has had occasion to consult the Prussian State Archives will have felt keenly the complete absence of any printed catalogue of the materials which these archives contain. With Heft 24 of the *Mitteilungen*, Prussian archivists have begun the publication of such a comprehensive catalogue. It is to be completed in another volume. It is needless to add that henceforth this general catalogue will be indispensable to anyone who consults the Prussian archives. Its value is enhanced by the constant reference to documents already printed and to important bibliographical helps. W. L. Dorn.

The Reign of Charles V, 1516-1558. By W. L. McElwee. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1936, pp. ix, 253, $2.50.) The author states the purpose and scope of this well-written little book in the first paragraph of the preface. "It does not claim to be a work of original research. . . . Equally it does not attempt the picturesque biography which is so much in fashion. It is rather an attempt to present, very shortly, the main problems and events of the life and reign of Charles V." Further on he admits his indebtedness to E. Armstrong's biography of Charles, to Bishop Stubbs's Lectures, and to Professor Pollard's chapters in the *Cambridge Modern History* "for almost all my facts and for most of my conclusions". A closer examination shows that the author has not depended quite so exclusively as he has suggested on these authorities, but the other works on which he has drawn are equally well-known standard histories. It is perhaps ungracious to take Mr. McElwee's modest estimate of his book at its face value, but after so disarming a statement it would be more ungracious to criticize it

for not being more than its author intended it to be. It deals almost entirely with the political history of Europe as a whole and of the various states that made up the scattered Habsburg Empire. His conclusions as to the results of the emperor's reign are sound, though scarcely novel. The value of the work lies in its balanced emphasis and organization, its brevity and its clarity.

WALLACE K. FERGUSON.

From Bismarck to Hitler: The Background of Modern German Nationalism. By LOUIS L. SNYDER. (Williamsport, Bayard Press, 1935, pp. xiv, 164, $3.00.) Under two general topics, "The Apostles" and "The Forces", Dr. Snyder assembles the results of his extensive reading in this ambitious survey of German nationalism. The omission of Paul de Lagarde and the comparative neglect of Gobineau and Houston Stewart Chamberlain are surprising since the author undertakes, among other things, to trace the origins of present-day "integral" and racial nationalism, but the chapters on Stoecker, Richard Wagner, and Bernhardi, based upon their publications, contain information that is not easily accessible elsewhere. From secondary accounts is drawn most of the material for the discussion of general causes. Most useful are the summary of "The Rise of Nationalistic Societies" and of the "Nationalistic Aspects of German Anti-Semitism". In general, however, the book is disappointing. It contains more than the usual typographical errors, some exceedingly slovenly writing, and not a few questionable conclusions. What, for example, is to be made of the following sentence? "In their own case the Hohenzollern family was the benefit of their attention." Like other students of nationalism, the author usually assumes without serious proof that the theories with which he is concerned exerted a wide influence upon public opinion. It would be interesting to know how generally Wagner's writings were read. Was Nietzsche's Superman in fact "the siren song which captivated the sentimental German mentality"? An acquaintance with the contemporary newspapers would probably have saved the author from repeating the common error that Bismarck throttled the press "completely". Nor is it accurate to say that the Navy Law of 1900 "was intended to give Germany a navy second to none". There is a bibliography, grouped under the chapter headings, but no index.

E. MALCOLM CARROLL.

Under the Swastika. By JOHN B. HOLT. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1936, pp. 261, $2.50.) This small volume grew out of the author's personal experience in Germany from 1931 to 1935. It describes the Nazi ideals and accomplishments in all lines. The author writes with the simplicity of one who has discussed the subjects with many natives of all classes and who has endeavored to understand the Nazis and their actions. He impresses the reader with his sincere effort to observe coolly, to set forth all sides of the issues, and to draw sane conclusions. He remains critical at all times; he praises some aspects of the Nazi regime; he condemns others; and at the end he avoids cocksure prophecy. The book is not profound and need not be read by those acquainted with works like Fritz Ermarth's excellent volume. It is interesting mainly as evidence of what an intelligent foreign eyewitness thought of this astounding piece of history.

Hitler's First Foes: A Study in Religion and Politics. By JOHN BROWN MASON. (Minneapolis, Burgess Publishing Company, 1936, pp. v, 118, $1.75, mimeoprinted.) Mr. Mason's work offers a straightforward account of "the relationship of the Roman Catholic Church to the rising Nazi movement and later to the Hitler state". It is based upon the use of "over 3000 issues of Catholic and Nazi

daily newspapers and hundreds of numbers of Austrian Catholic periodicals" (foreword). The author's conclusions are about the same as Mr. Holt's. He anticipates an accentuation of the conflict and the ultimate victory of the Roman Catholic Church. The most interesting feature of his study is the analysis of the differences in attitude toward the Nazis among the Catholics themselves. The book is rather dull and at times verbose, but it is solidly buttressed with facts in both the text and the appendix, and it goes behind the details of the conflict to expose clearly the philosophic-religious issue.

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ITALY

Gaudens Megaro

Michelangelo the Man. By DONALD LORD FINLAYSON. (New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1936, pp. x, 356, $3.50.) This biography, intended as a popular interpretation of one of the most forceful personalities of the Renaissance, leaves the reader without any impression of either force or personality.

Mr. Finlayson states in his preface that he means to approach the great figure fundamentally as a man, but it is precisely as a man in his environment that Mr. Finlayson fails to show us the great artist. The analysis of Italian social conditions is very inadequate, and Michelangelo's reactions to the forces around him are, when given, not convincing. It is not easy to see, for example, how the statement that Michelangelo revered Savonarola not as a reformer but as an artist can be reconciled with the testimony of contemporaries as to the deeply religious nature of Michelangelo and the spiritual influence exerted by Savonarola. Similarly ignored are the intellectual influences of the Renaissance with which Michelangelo came into contact at the court of Lorenzo the Magnificent. We are given no insight into the thought of these brilliant men, whose externals Mr. Finlayson describes so well. Again, the political events of the sixteenth century are sketched without any clear grasp of their significance or their implications for Michelangelo. Mr. Finlayson, however, is most successful in his account of Michelangelo's friendships in Rome. Here he shows considerable penetration into the ardent, idealistic, and lonely nature of the great artist. Yet if one hunts knowledge of Michelangelo the man, any of the previous biographies, even the short and rhetorical account of Romain Rolland, will give a clearer impression of this titan of the Renaissance. PALMER A. THROOP.

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NORTHERN EUROPE

L. M. Larson

Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie. By RUDOLF FÅHRÆUS. (Stockholm, Hugo Geber, 1936, pp. 324, kr. 10.) Magnus de la Gardie, chancellor of Sweden and leader in the regency during the minority of Charles XI, has usually not fared well at the hands of Swedish historians. It is therefore interesting to note that he has finally found a sympathetic biographer. Though Fåhræus does not completely rehabilitate the statesmen of the regency, he has much to say in their favor.

Drottning Christina och Monaldesco. By CURT WEIBULL. (Stockholm, 1936, pp. 167, kr. 6.50.) In this study the author has undertaken to find a solution of the old problem of the guilt of Monaldesco, a high official in the court of Queen Christina, whom that erratic lady caused to be executed at Fontainebleau on November 10, 1657. Weibull believes that he has discovered, largely through the study of materials hitherto not generally known, that the victim was executed as a traitor. Christina seems to have been plotting with Cardinal Mazarin an attack on Naples, and at a critical moment their machinations were revealed by the grand equerry to interested authorities. The queen believed that she still possessed sovereign rights in the old Swedish sense and ordered the execution with a good conscience.

Arbeiderreisning. By HALVDAN KOHT and HALVARD MANTHEY LANGE. Volume II. *Verdenskrig og revolution.* (Oslo, Norsk Forlag, 1936, pp. 243, kr. 9.75.) This is the second volume in a series of three which will tell the story of the labor policies of socialism in recent years. The present volume deals with the period from the outbreak of the World War to approximately 1920 and is the work of Halvard Lange. The viewpoint is frankly socialistic, but the author has tried to avoid even the appearance of propaganda. Volume III will carry the narrative down to 1935.

Idéer och Män: Staatsvetenskapliga Studier. By ERIK FAHLBECK. (Stockholm, Norstedt, 1936, pp. 369, kr. 5.50.) Fahlbeck's volume is a series of sketches of the more prominent political thinkers in Sweden at the opening of the nineteenth century. While these men are not of first importance when considered separately, as a group they are highly significant in that out of their writings and speeches a series of ideas, conservative, radical, and liberal, were developed which to a large extent determined the course of action followed by Swedish statesmanship till the close of the century and even into our own time.

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THE FAR EAST

C. H. Peake

A Short History of Anglo-Japanese Relations. By Chozo Muto. (Tokyo, Hokuseido Press, 1936, pp. iv, 83, $1.00.) The title of this book is somewhat misleading. Either "A Guide to the Study of Anglo-Japanese Relations" or "Bibliographical Notes on Anglo-Japanese Relations" would be a much more accurate description of the contents. It is valuable for its careful discussion of source materials and its several pictures of persons, ships, and documents that played important roles in Anglo-Japanese affairs. The author apparently thought that his readers would be interested primarily in the European sources and believed they would know little and care less about Japanese sources, for he deals much more fully with English and Dutch records than he does with Japanese. This makes the book a trifle disappointing to America and European scholars who can make use of Japanese records, but they will undoubtedly find these all listed and discussed carefully in the author's large Japanese work on the subject. No attempt has been made to treat Anglo-Japanese relations since 1867. The author's interest is centered on the years 1600-1623, and wisely so in a short book of this type. An interesting glimpse is given of the complexity of international politics even in the seventeenth century when it is pointed out that, altho h the marriage of King Charles II to a Catholic princess of Portugal gav Bombay to England, it destroyed England's chance of re-establishing commerc l and diplomatic relations with Japan in 1673, because of the great distrust the Japanese had of the Catholic Portuguese and all persons in any way connected with them. Robert Karl Reischauer.

Ku-Kung O-wen Shih-Liao: Ch'ing K'ang-Ch'ien-Chien O-Kuo Lai-Wen Yuan-Tang. Edited by Liu Tse-jung and translated by Wang Chih-hsiang. (Peiping, National Palace Museum, 1936, pp. 2, 16, 18, 3, 312, $4.00, Chinese currency.) This elaborate and well-printed work reproduces twenty-three official Russian documents sent to Peking during the years 1670-1757, together with their rendition or translation (some of the documents are in Latin) into modern Russian and into Chinese. There is a reproduction as well of the original Manchu version of ten of the Russian manuscripts. Linguistic scholars will find the documents of value in tracing the evolution of the Russian language from old Slavonic to modern Russian, historians, in studying Sino-Russian relations during the century which they cover.

The Commonwealth of the Philippines. By George A. Malcolm. (New York, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936, pp. xviii, 511, $5.00.) This volume is the result of many years' residence in Manila, during which the author rose from the status of a government clerk to that of chief justice of the supreme court.

It will be read not for its style, which is mediocre, but for its portrayal of the Philippines at the closing period of American government and the opening of the ten years' period of the Commonwealth and of the possibilities that confront an entirely independent Philippines. The omission of certain extraneous matter which is to be found in greater detail in other reputable works and a closer centering of present economic, political, and administrative factors would have made a more compact volume. As it is, an excellent idea is given of the new constitution of the Commonwealth, of the personalities at the head of the government, and of future possibilities. There is some damning with faint praise and at times a too great pulling of punches. The author is always genial and never bitter, but he views the future pessimistically and augurs final loss of independence because of general Far Eastern conditions. Several misstatements and several slips in proofreading occur. One excellent map shows the position of the Philippines in the Far East and another the islands with their provinces. In general the work is informative and is to be commended.

JAMES A. ROBERTSON.

The Flight of an Empress, told by Wu Yung whose Other Name is Yü-Ch'uan. Transcribed by Liu K'un. Translated and Edited by IDA PRUITT. Introduction by Kenneth Scott Latourette. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1936, pp. xxiii, 222, $2.50.) There is available in a Western language only one other extended account by a Chinese of the momentous and stirring events connected with the Boxer crisis, namely, the translation made by J. J. L. Duyvendak of *The Diary of his Excellency Ching-Shan* (Leiden, 1924). The present description of the flight of the emperor and empress before the advancing allied troops in the summer of 1900 gives us the account of a Chinese magistrate, who was in charge of the imperial entourage, as told to a group of Chinese more than twenty years after the crisis. This detailed account of his experiences throws a revealing light upon the personalities and the factions at the court. Likewise of interest and value to the historian is his account of the rise and spread of the Boxer movement. How the court came to support this fanatical movement is clearly set forth as being in part due to Prince Tuan's ambition to place his son Ta Ah-ko on the throne. However, that which angered the empress dowager and finally led her to support the Boxers was the strongly worded memorandum sent to the Chinese Foreign office by the representatives of the powers demanding the evacuation of the fort at Taku (p. 10, 11) as well as the false statement made by Prince Tuan that the foreigners were demanding her abdication. One important development in the crisis has never been satisfactorily cleared up in Western accounts, namely the extraordinary action of Tz'u Hsi in declaring war on the foreigners. Here it appears (pp. 142-146) that the empress dowager's favorite, the grand secretary, Jung Lu, had falsely informed her in a secret memorial that the foreigners had already declared war on China. This story seems to be without foundation and contradicts Jung Lu's whole antiwar policy.

Fifth Report on Progress in Manchuria to 1936. (Dairen, South Manchuria Railway Company, 1936, pp. vii, 253.) This report like its predecessors is a useful reference work. It is divided into three parts, the first dealing topically with important subjects, the second part comprising statistical tables, and the third, nearly half the book, containing a collection of valuable documentary materials.

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UNITED STATES HISTORY

E. C. Burnett

General

A History of the American Episcopal Church. By the Reverend William Wilson Manross. (New York, Morehouse Publishing Company, 1935, pp. xvi, 404, $2.75.) A new history of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States was needed, and one may say that Mr. Manross has done a creditable piece of work in this volume. The bibliography, while not complete in every detail, provides enough material for anyone who might want to begin research studies. There is a careful index. One notes at once that a disproportionate amount of space has been given to the church in the colonial period, though there is no mention of George Berkeley, who spent some three years in Rhode Island, and who was by far the most important figure of the Church of England to visit colonial America. The church's history since 1800 deserved more attention than it has received, for the nineteenth century was a time of marked growth in domestic and foreign missionary activity, the building of the church in the West, and discussion of doctrinal and social developments. An example of the author's slighting of the modern period is his treatment of Bishop Brent, regarded by many as one of the most spiritual men the church has produced, as well as one of the best minds. Of him Mr. Manross has little to say (pp. 337, 358), most of it unfavorable and nothing of his great work in the field of church unity. John D. Zimmermann.

References on Economic History as a Field of Research and Study. By Everett E. Edwards. (Washington, Department of Agriculture, 1936, pp. 83, free.) The Division of Statistical and Historical Research of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics has issued this pamphlet in mimeographed form.

So half Amerika: Die Auslandshilfe der Vereinigten Staaten, 1812-1930. By Hermann Stöhr. (Stettin, Ökumenischer Verlag, 1936, pp. 327, 5.60 M.) A history of American altruism by a European scholar is unique, to say the least. Dr. Stöhr begins by quoting utterances of American presidents and public leaders which were intended to inculcate among Americans, as part of our national ideal, a spirit of thankfulness for our many blessings and a missionary zeal to help others whom nature had blessed less abundantly. He then traces in more or less detail the story of American contributions to relief funds, beginning with such early examples of American altruism as interest in the Greek wars of liberation and concluding with the gigantic humanitarian activities of the post-war years. About two thirds of the book deals with the period since 1914 and with the European countries, with special attention to Germany. The role of the churches and the foreign missionary movement is stressed, and some effort is made to describe the technical organization of relief movements, the propaganda used in the "drives" for funds, and other details which show how Uncle Sam functions with efficiency as well as altruism when he assumes the role of Good Samaritan. Herbert Hoover's work in Belgium and the activities of the Quakers and Jews elicit special analysis and commendation. There is much detail regarding the many ramifications of American relief work, great and small, and occasionally the reader feels that he is reading a catalogue instead of a history. But the book is a valuable compendium of not easily accessible information. There is a short bibliography, but as there are no footnotes it is impossible to check the source of some of the most significant material.

Carl Wittke.

American Economic Development: An Introduction to Present Economic Problems. By A. M. SAKOLSKI and MYRON L. HOCH. (New York, Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1936, pp. xii, 448, $2.50.) This volume, which is arranged topically, covers the principal phases of American economic development from colonial times to the present. Unlike most textbooks it is prefaced by a brief essay on the economic interpretation of history, in which the stages of economic development are stressed. The chapter bibliographies, though not exhaustive, are on the whole well chosen. Occasionally, however, one observes the absence of what seem to be important titles. Space forbids more than a few suggestions: J. Russell Smith's *North America,* C. W. Alvord's *The Mississippi Valley in British Politics,* P. W. Gates's *The Illinois Central Railroad and its Colonization Policy,* and U. P. Hedrick's *A History of Agriculture in the State of New York.* The chapter references on manufactures and transportation would be strengthened by the inclusion of additional biographical citations, as, for example, Allan Nevins's *Abram S. Hewitt* and Lewis Corey's *House of Morgan.* One wonders why the History of American Life series was omitted from the general bibliography. The usefulness of the book would have been enhanced if the maps and charts—many of them of great merit—had been listed in the table of contents. The book suffers somewhat from compression and omissions. But perhaps one should not expect too much within the limits of a 448 page book. Certainly the material selected for inclusion has been intelligently handled. HARRY J. CARMAN.

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

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Letter from Priscilla (Lothrop) Burr, Fairfield, Conn., to Helen (Hobart) Lothrop, Plymouth, Mass., Aug. 10, 1779. *Bull. Connecticut Hist. Soc.*, Aug.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

First Report of the Archivist of the Division of Documents of the West Virginia University for the Year 1935-1936 with a Descriptive List of Manuscript Collections. (Morgantown, the University, 1936, pp. 24.) The valuable work that the university is doing to preserve the state historical manuscripts is indicated in this pamphlet. Of more than local interest is the report of the gift of Henry Gassaway Davis papers and the loan of Stonewall Jackson letters.

Early Explorations and Mission Establishments in Texas. By EDWARD W. HEUSINGER. (San Antonio, Naylor Company, 1936, pp. xvi, 222, $2.50.) This volume has little if any justification for existence—despite the flattering but biased introduction contributed by Professor Joseph W. Schmitz. The author claims to have presented for the first time "in sequence" the history of mission establishments in Texas until their secularization. He admits, however, that he has done no research on his subject since the year 1915. This is inexcusable in view of the vast amount of materials, both documentary and monographic, that has been published on the Texas missions in the twenty-one years preceding the publication of this book. Even in his summary sketch of the Texas mission establishments the author, moreover, has made but scant and poor use of materials that were available in 1915. The book cannot be recommended as a serious or even semi-scholarly summary of the history of Spanish missionary establishments in Texas. CHARLES W. HACKETT.

Maryland and France, 1774-1789. By KATHRYN SULLIVAN. (Philadelphia, University of Philadelphia Press, 1936, pp. xi, 195, $2.00.) This is a doctoral thesis with conventional, even formidable, critical apparatus but unpleasing style and structure. It is nevertheless a contribution to both the constitutional and the diplomatic history of the United States. Its diplomatic significance lies in a description of the separate glancing contacts which Maryland had with the French diplomatic representatives, the French expeditionary forces, and the government at Versailles. French ministers were very hesitant about relations with a separate state because of the jealousy of the Continental Congress. These furtive contacts are interesting to the student of the constitutional history of the United States in the years before the adoption of the Confederation had given to the nation its first written definition of constitution and union. Cautious French diplomats near Congress found it more expedient to exert their influence on Maryland by stimulating its delegates in Congress with the impressions which they desired to make in that body. In this they were successful because the

attitude of Maryland toward western lands and the navigation of the Mississippi was congenial to French policy, which (for the sake of Spanish relations) ceased to champion American claims to the Mississippi as a western boundary and which urged Congress to relinquish its demand for the free navigation of the Mississippi. On the other hand, the representatives of France successfully pressed Maryland to ratify the Articles of Confederation as a means of strengthening the union of forces during the common war against Great Britain, and the author shows that France may be regarded as a force in hastening that consummation. SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS.

ARTICLES

ULRICH BONNELL PHILLIPS. The Course of the South to Secession [cont.]. *Georgia Hist. Quar.*, Dec.

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FLETCHER M. GREEN. Gold Mining: A Forgotten Industry of Ante-Bellum North Carolina. *North Carolina Hist. Rev*, Jan.

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JOSEPH H. LOCKEY. Public Education in Spanish St. Augustine. *Florida Hist. Soc. Quar.*, Jan.

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WENDELL H. STEPHENSON. A Quarter-Century of a Mississippi Plantation: Eli J. Capell of "Pleasant Hill". *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, Dec.

JAMES A. PADGETT. The Ancestry of Edward Livingston of Louisiana: The Livingston Family. *Louisiana Hist. Quar.*, Oct.

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S. BAILEY TURLINGTON, contr. Letters from Old Trunks [six letters from John Cropper, jr., 1811-1813]. *Virginia Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, Jan.

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D. C. CORBITT, ed. Papers relating to the Georgia-Florida Frontier, 1784-1800. *Georgia Hist. Quar.*, Dec.

JAMES A. PADGETT, ed. Letters of Edward Livingston to Presidents of the United States. *Louisiana Hist. Quar.*, Oct.

WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

The Development of Poor Relief Legislation in Kansas. By GRACE A. BROWNING, and Appendixes with Court Decisions, edited by SOPHONISBA P. BRECKINRIDGE. (Chicago, University Press, 1935, pp. xvii, 157, $1.50.) This study is particularly timely as a verification of the inadequacy of the old state poor law statutes in the face of the present crisis in relief. Kansas is typical in this respect of a

number of midwestern states which inherited the colonial poor law statutes, which in turn were based directly upon the old English Poor Law. Acting upon this traditional foundation, derived in its essential aspects from the practice in Elizabethan England, the Kansas pioneers embodied in their constitution in 1860 the following provision: "The respective counties of the state shall provide as may be prescribed by law for those inhabitants who, by reason of age, infirmity, or other misfortune, may have claims upon the sympathy and aid of society." Implicit in this general statement were the principles of local responsibility and settlement, which have remained on the statutes to this day despite their gross inadequacy to meet present conditions. In the course of recent poor relief legislation in Kansas there have been, it is true, certain sporadic attempts to ameliorate the condition of a number of groups by removing them from the jurisdiction of the poor law. This has been done by enacting special legislation in their behalf. Included in this category are such measures as "the juvenile court law, mothers' pensions, pensions for the disabled, and legislation relating to the care of the sick poor". The able-bodied "pauper" group, however, has received scant legislative attention until the relief crisis of recent years, and even then the legislature has clung to the principle of local as against state responsibility. Such studies as the one under review will serve directly to educate the student and administrator of public welfare in the ramifications of the poor law problem. FRANCIS E. MERRILL.

Los Angeles: Werden, Leben, und Gestalt der Zweimillionenstadt in Südkalifornien. By ANTON WAGNER. (Leipzig, Bibliographisches Institut, 1935, pp. viii, 295, 9.50 M.) The phenomenal rise of metropolitan Los Angeles has elicited a great deal of journalistic comment ranging from the raucously braggart to the enviously derisive. Herr Wagner's is the first attempt at a comprehensive scientific analysis. It is a study based upon scrutiny of a voluminous literature, to which his classified bibliographical list is an excellent guide, and upon field work in the area. As a geographer, the author is especially aware of Los Angeles's geographical deficiencies in such matters as rainfall, water supply, natural harbor, and proximity to markets, and a good share of his volume is concerned with the overcoming of these handicaps. A historian might have laid greater stress upon such factors as the Mexican pastoral background, the propulsive forces in the East and Middle West that have contributed toward migration to southern California, the spontaneous publicizing of California symbolized by 1849, and the attraction of capital to southern California through the combination of high interest rates and steadily rising values. Subsequent writers may measure more accurately the contribution of the petroleum and film industries, of the harbor development and the Panama Canal, but they will be greatly indebted to this pioneer study.

JOHN WALTON CAUGHEY.

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HOWARD H. PECKHAM. Michigan and the Transcontinental Railroad. *Ibid.*

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CHARLES A. HAWLEY. Beginnings of Congregationalism in Iowa. *Ibid.*, Jan.

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HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY FOR 1936

THE Executive Council of the Association held one meeting during the year, on December 28-29 at Providence. The departure from the customary practice of holding two annual meetings was suggested by the Executive Committee, first on the ground of economy and second on the ground that since the Treasurer was absent from the country it seemed inexpedient to discuss budgetary problems without him. The proposal was submitted to the members of the Council by mail vote, and the Council approved.

The Executive Committee of the Council met three times during the year: at the Harvard Club in New York City on February 29, in the office of President Fox of Union College on August 8, and at the Hotel Roosevelt in New York City on November 21. There was a full attendance at the first two meetings. At the third meeting four members were present.

All of the activities of the Association hereafter to be noted are in general charge of the Executive Secretary, under the immediate direction of the Executive Committee and subject to the general control of the Executive Council.

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW. During the first half of the year the *Review* was edited by Mr. Bourne with the assistance of the Board of Editors. The special committee designated by the Executive Committee (*cf.* minutes of March 30, 1935) to find a successor to Mr. Bourne, who retired June 30, and to consider the whole question of the management of the *Review* unanimously agreed to nominate Mr. Robert Livingston Schuyler of Columbia University Managing Editor of the *Review* for a term of three years beginning July 1, 1936. This nomination was confirmed by the Executive Committee at its February 29 meeting, and the Executive Secretary was directed to advise Mr. Schuyler and Mr. Bourne as to the appointment and to express to Mr. Bourne the appreciation of the Association for his long and careful services. The Executive Secretary was also directed to express to the special committee the appreciation of the Executive Committee for their diligence.

Mr. Schuyler, with the approval of the Executive Committee, has made some changes in the format of the *Review* and the organization of the material within it. These need not be described since they are now familiar to all readers of the *Review*. He hopes that they will be regarded as improvements. It will be apparent that the general appearance of the *Review*, which

has become endeared to many of its members by long association, remains about as it was.

On July 1 the editorial office of the *Review* was removed from 40 Independence Avenue, S. W., Washington, D. C., to 535 West 114th Street, New York City. This space, consisting of a suite of three offices, has been provided free of charge to the Association by Columbia University. Miss Eleanor D. Smith, who had served for three years as Editorial Assistant, remains with the *Review*, her title being changed to Assistant Editor by action of the Executive Committee at its meeting of August 8.

In reorganizing the management of the *Review* some economies have been effected. They have been made possible partly through the generosity of Columbia University and partly through the self-sacrificing devotion of the whole editorial staff. But Mr. Schuyler feels that the *Review* should be improved, and it could be improved if we had more money to spend on it. As soon as the revenues of the Association warrant it the appropriation for that purpose should be increased.

Commission on the Social Studies. It will be recalled that when the term of the Commission on the Social Studies, appointed for five years, expired December 29, 1933, its work was not yet finished, and the business of finishing it was turned over by the Council to the Executive Committee. During the year two volumes of the Commission have appeared: *Are American Teachers Free?*, by Howard K. Beale, and *Curriculum-Making in the Social Studies*, by Leon C. Marshall and Rachel Marshall Goetz. Two volumes (the final two of the Commission) will appear early in 1937: *The Teacher of the Social Studies*, by William C. Bagley, and *Methods of Instruction in the Social Studies*, by Ernest Horn.

The Social Studies. Mr. W. G. Kimmel submitted his resignation as Editor of the *Social Studies* on April 30, to take effect August 15. After canvassing the possibilities with care and consulting with members of the Board of Advisory Editors and others, the Executive Committee of the Advisory Board recommended that Mr. Erling M. Hunt of Columbia University be appointed Editor, and that provision be made for an Assistant Editor. The Executive Committee in August appointed Mr. Hunt to succeed Mr. Kimmel and authorized the appointment of an Assistant Editor. Miss Katharine Elizabeth Crane, formerly an Assistant Editor of the *Dictionary of American Biography*, accepted appointment as Assistant Editor September 1. Subsequently, at a meeting in November, the Executive Committee authorized the Managing Editor to appoint all subordinate members of the editorial staff of the magazine, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee of the magazine and in accordance with its budget, and directed him to submit a financial report of the operations of the magazine quarterly to the Treasurer of the Association.

The Editorial Board of the *Social Studies,* feeling that the circulation of the magazine was not growing as rapidly as it should grow and finding the McKinley Publishing Company indisposed to finance a vigorous campaign of promotion, requested permission from the Executive Committee of the A.H.A. to terminate the existing contract with the McKinley Publishing Company and to enter into a contract with some other publishing company. The Executive Committee authorized this course of procedure in August. The McKinley Publishing Company was thereupon notified in accordance with the terms of the contract of the termination of that contract December 31, 1936. On December 16, 1936, a new contract was signed with the American Book Company on much more favorable terms. The American Historical Association assumes complete editorial control of the contents of the magazine and undertakes to finance the editorial expenses. This contract has been drawn with the assistance of counsel, and care has been taken to protect the interests of the McKinley Publishing Company. It is expected that under the new arrangement the magazine can be put upon a self-sustaining basis before the funds at present available for financing its editorial expenses are exhausted.

In order not to infringe upon the rights of the McKinley Publishing Company, who intend to carry on the *Social Studies* under their own editorial direction, the Board of Editors of the *Social Studies* will publish a new magazine under the name *Social Education,* the first number of which will appear on January 1, 1937. In this new magazine the American Historical Association will promote the same purposes which led it to assume editorial control of the *Social Studies.* Mr. Hunt will be Managing Editor of *Social Education.* At the meeting of the Executive Committee of the A.H.A. in November the following were appointed to serve as the Board of Editors for *Social Education* during the calendar year 1937: Erling M. Hunt, *Chairman,* Conyers Read, *Secretary,* Charles A. Beard, Phillips Bradley, Margaret A. Koch, E. George Payne, Donnal V. Smith, Ruth Wanger. Two other members of the Board have been appointed by the National Council for the Social Studies, to wit: Elmer Ellis, President of the National Council, and Howard E. Wilson, Secretary-Treasurer of the National Council.

A preliminary agreement has been entered into with the National Council for the Social Studies by which the National Council agrees to recognize *Social Education* as its official organ and to pay the full subscription price for copies of the magazine distributed to its members. The American Historical Association agrees to allow the National Council to appoint two members to the Editorial Board of the magazine. It is further agreed that after January, 1940, the National Council shall be represented on the Editorial Board of the magazine in the proportion which its subscribing members stand to the whole number of subscribers to the magazine.

Annual Report. In 1933 the publication of the *Annual Report* of the

Association had to be discontinued because of the lack of government appropriation for the purpose. The re-establishment of the government appropriation, thanks largely to the good offices of Mr. Jameson and Mr. Stock, has made possible the resumption of publication. The proceedings of the Association through 1935 are now in printed form, those for 1932 being in the *Annual Report* for that year and those for 1933, 1934, and 1935 being in the *Annual Report* for 1935. By vote of the Council the *Annual Report* for 1935 contains only the essential portions of the proceedings for 1933-35.

Writings on American History. The volumes for 1932, 1933, and 1934 are expected to appear in print during 1937. The volume for 1935 will be compiled starting July, 1937, by which time delayed periodicals will have been received. It will be noted that we are catching up on arrearages arising out of the unexpected discontinuance of our printing allowance, and should the customary grant be made for 1937 will be publishing on schedule henceforth. Of course *Writings* must always lag about two years behind date of publication because of the tardy appearance of many of the periodicals involved. Somewhat over $4000 of the 1936-37 allotment of $8000 which must be expended by July 1, 1937, remains on hand for the printing of other works by the Association. The Cumulative Index to *Writings* is almost all on cards, and the work of collating and co-ordinating the material is now under way. Mr. Matteson, the editor, expects to have the index completed in about two years.

Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund Publications. During the year 1936 this Committee published three volumes: *Official Correspondence of the Texan Revolution, 1835-1836,* by W. C. Binkley; *French Opinion on the United States and Mexico, 1860-1867,* by Lynn M. Case; and *Military Affairs in North America, 1748-1765: Extracts from the Cumberland Papers in Windsor Castle,* by S. Pargellis. The project of Frank Monaghan embracing a collection of the papers of John Jay is over half finished, and the manuscript is promised in the spring of 1937. The projects of H. C. Perkins (a collection of Northern editorials on secession and war, 1861) and J. H. Easterby (the papers of R. F. W. Allston, a rice planter and politician of South Carolina) should appear soon thereafter. During the year the Committee, upon the understanding that all editorial expenses would be borne by other agencies, decided to print in its series a collection of the papers of James G. Birney. The Committee has ordered the unbound sets of *Southern Editorials on Secession* to be bound up in the format of the rest of the series, of which the Appleton-Century Company is now prepared to promote the sale in sets. To date, seven projects have been published, and three are in preparation.

Littleton-Griswold Fund Publications. During December of this year this Committee published a third volume of its American Legal

Records series, *Records of the Vice-Admiralty Court of Rhode Island,* edited by Dorothy S. Towle, with an Introduction by Charles M. Andrews. Some progress has been made in preparing the way for later volumes in this series. It will be recalled that this series is being published directly by the American Historical Association through the office of the Executive Secretary. Sales for the first two volumes up to October 6, 1936, aggregated 183 copies of Volume I, *Proceedings of the Maryland Court of Appeals, 1695-1729,* edited by Carroll T. Bond with the collaboration of Richard B. Morris, and 161 copies of Volume II, *Select Cases of the Mayor's Court of New York City, 1674-1784,* edited by Richard B. Morris.

Carnegie Revolving Fund Publications. This Committee has published during the year *The Older Middle West,* by H. C. Hubbart, and *The Estates-General of 1789,* by M. B. Garrett. This brings the number of volumes published to eighteen. Two are now being printed: *The Organization of the British Customs System,* by Elizabeth G. Horn, and *A Life of Albert Gallatin Brown,* by Professor Ranck of Hood College.

Bibliography of American Travel. A committee of three, with Mr. Frank Monaghan of Yale as Chairman and Mr. Harry M. Lydenberg of the New York Public Library and Mr. Julian P. Boyd of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania as associates, was appointed by the Executive Committee at its meeting March 30, 1935, to carry forward the work on this bibliography begun by Mr. Solon J. Buck. This Committee has found it wise to accept as a terminal date the year 1860 and has divided the field before that date into three periods, the first ending at 1750, the second at 1830. It has induced the Huntington Library to undertake the preparation of the first period and has induced Mr. Michael Kraus of the College of the City of New York to assume editorial responsibility for the third period. It has not yet found an editor for the middle period, which is, however, the one upon which Mr. Buck did most of his work and which consequently is well advanced.

The Committee has received valuable materials on Chinese, Japanese, Polish, Russian, and Belgian travelers in the United States through the kind offices of resident foreign ambassadors. The services of advisory editors for Italian, German, Belgian, and French travelers have been tendered. The Commission for Relief in Belgium Educational Foundation has promised to put to work on the collection of relevant materials in Belgian libraries two exceedingly competent persons. The Casa Italiana at Columbia University will assist with Italian travelers.

Committee on Historical Source Materials. This Committee was appointed by the Council at the Annual Meeting in 1935, on the recommendation of the special committee appointed by the Executive Council on December 2, 1934, to consider the relationship of the A.H.A. to the whole problem of documentary publications and of national, state, local, and private

archives, and to make specific recommendations to the Council; and to consider, formulate, and present plans for a nationwide survey of archival material which might be made the basis for an appeal to the foundations. It was brought into being to co-ordinate the work then being done by the Public Archives Commission, the Historical Manuscripts Commission, and the Publications Committee. It is composed of the Chairman and six members of whom three form a Subcommittee on Public Archives and three a Subcommittee on Historical Manuscripts.

The efforts of this Committee during the past year have been largely directed to co-operation with various W.P.A. projects designed to survey federal, state, and local archives and miscellaneous collections of historical manuscripts. In a great many instances members of the Committee have assisted these projects and in part directed them. The result has been that the Committee has not only rendered an admirable report on the scope and progress of these various projects, but has also pointed out in what respects they need to be supplemented and has raised many pertinent questions as to how the results of them may best be utilized. It is not only highly desirable that this Committee should be continued and supported but that their proposals should be carefully considered.

Committee on Americana for College Libraries. The Committee has suffered an irreparable loss by the death of its benefactor, Mr. Tracy W. McGregor, on May 6, 1936. Mr. McGregor made no specific provision in his will for continuing the work of the Committee, but his executors and the Trustees of the McGregor Fund have decided to support the Americana Plan along the lines laid down by Mr. McGregor before his death. They have accordingly provided funds for the maintenance of the project during the current year and have invited the American Historical Association to assume responsibility for the continuance of the Plan thereafter. At the November meeting of the Executive Committee the Executive Secretary submitted a report from the Trustees of the McGregor Fund to the effect that they had appropriated to the American Historical Association $14,775 for the calendar year 1937 to enable it to carry forward the work of the Committee on Americana. In transmitting the appropriation, the Trustees indicated that of this amount $7500 was to be applied to the purchase of books under the Plan and $7275 to overhead expenses. The Executive Committee took action as follows:

Resolved, That the American Historical Association accepts with thanks the grant of the McGregor Fund amounting to $14,775 for the calendar year 1937 for carrying on the program of the Committee on Americana, and that it assumes full responsibility for the carrying on of the work of the Committee in general accordance with the plans of the late Mr. Tracy W. McGregor so long as adequate funds are placed at its disposition for the purpose.

Resolved, That the Executive Secretary be directed to transmit this resolution to the Trustees of the McGregor Fund, and at the same time to express the thanks of the Association to the Trustees for their generous support of a very important project.

Resolved, That the Committee on Americana for College Libraries shall consist of seven members, appointed by the Council to serve four years; that the following members are hereby appointed: Randolph G. Adams, William W. Bishop, J. Franklin Jameson, Leonard L. Mackall, Conyers Read, Kathryn L. Slagle, Lawrence C. Worth; and that of these the terms of two shall end January 1, 1938, two January 1, 1939, two January 1, 1940, and one January 1, 1941, the order of retirement to be determined by lot, and their places shall be filled either by reappointment or in such wise as the Council shall determine.

Resolved, That Randolph G. Adams be appointed chairman of the Committee on Americana for College Libraries and Kathryn L. Slagle secretary for the year 1937, and that thereafter the chairman and the secretary of the Committee shall be selected from among its members by the Committee.

Resolved, That the headquarters of the Committee on Americana for College Libraries for the year 1937 shall be in the William L. Clements Library at Ann Arbor, Michigan, and that after 1937 the headquarters of the Committee shall be fixed by the Committee.

Resolved, That the chairman of the Committee on Americana for College Libraries shall be director of the Plan and shall for the year 1937 receive an annual compensation of $2500 from the funds provided for the Plan.

Resolved, That the secretary of the Committee on Americana for College Libraries shall be the assistant director of the Plan and shall for the year 1937 receive an annual compensation of $2000.

Resolved, That money granted to the Association for uses of the Committee on Americana for College Libraries shall be expended in accordance with an annual budget submitted by the Committee and approved by the Council of the Association, and that the Committee shall submit to the Treasurer of the Association at the close of the fiscal year an audited account of its expenditures.

It should be remembered that Mr. Adams was Mr. McGregor's selection as Chairman of the Committee and that Miss Slagle has had charge of the detailed management of the Plan since its inception. The Executive Committee felt, in view of the fact that the present membership of the Committee on Americana had been virtually selected by Mr. McGregor himself, and that the Committee as at present constituted commands the complete confidence of the Trustees of the McGregor Fund, that it should be changed very gradually, if at all. The indications are that the Trustees of the McGregor Fund intend to continue their support of the Plan indefinitely, and there is some promise that the appropriation may be increased and the scope of the Plan considerably extended. There are now eleven colleges participating in the Plan: two in New England, two in the Middle Atlantic States, five in the South, and two in the Far West. The absence of colleges

in the Middle West is to be deplored. It is explained by the fact that since the Plan operates on a fund jointly contributed by the Committee and by the college benefiting, colleges in the Middle West which have been approached have found it impossible to meet the requirements. It is hoped that this state of affairs is merely temporary.

Committee on Radio. The Committee prepared a plan for the broadcasting of history which was printed in *Radio and Education,* 1934, and offprints of which were distributed at the Annual Meeting of the Association in 1934. This plan has been formally approved by the Council of the A.H.A. and by the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education. During the current year the Committee has enlisted the active co-operation of the Columbia Broadcasting System, and a plan has been worked out by Mr. E. R. Murrow, Director of Radio Talks of the C.B.S., and Mrs. Evelyn Plummer Braun, Secretary of the Radio Committee. This plan calls for a series of experimental broadcasts during January, February, and March, 1937. Free time on the air and the services of one of their best broadcasters have been contributed gratis by the C.B.S. The historical material to be used in broadcasting is to be provided by historians expert in their several fields. The estimated cost to the Association for this experiment is $2000. Thanks to the generosity of the Trustees of the Keith Fund and the Trustees of the McGregor Fund, this $2000 has been contributed and paid into the treasury of the Association. The Executive Committee at its meeting in November took action as follows:

Upon motion the Executive Committee expressed its interest in the experiment and directed that the $2000 raised or to be raised for the preparation of historical material for the broadcast should be placed at the disposal of the Executive Secretary and expended at his discretion, an accounting of the same to be rendered at the end of the experiment.

It is hoped that the experiment will justify the merits of the plan and open the door for continuing means of support. Obviously, the Association can not at present contemplate any plan for radio broadcasting which involves a charge upon the regular budget of the Association. The Executive Secretary as Chairman of the Radio Committee will have the whole experiment under his immediate oversight. Its direction will proceed from his office.

Commission on History: College Entrance Examination Board. The work of this Commission, its personnel, and its objectives were set forth in the report of the Executive Secretary for 1934. It presented its final report to the Committee of Review of the College Entrance Examination Board in October, and the Committee of Review ordered the report printed and distributed. The report has since appeared in the *Social Studies* for December, 1936. It will be taken up for final consideration at the meeting of the C.E.E.B. in April, 1937. The Executive Secretary as Chairman of the Com-

mission, and Evelyn Plummer Braun as Secretary of the Commission, have accepted invitations to discuss the report before various meetings of college and school representatives. The Commission on History is technically not a committee of the A.H.A. Most of the members of the Commission are members of the A.H.A., and the work of the Commission aligns it very closely with the earlier work of committees of the A.H.A. dealing with analogous problems, notably with that of the famous Committee of Seven.

The Union Library Catalogue of the Philadelphia Metropolitan Area. The Committee in charge of this project is not a committee of the A.H.A., but the project has been fostered by the A.H.A. since its inception and the Executive Secretary has taken an active part in it. Attention is called to the progress of the enterprise as set forth in the report of the Executive Secretary for 1935. During the current year much further progress has been made. On November 24, 1936, the contents of the card catalogues of 149 libraries had been filmed, showing a total of something like five million separate entries. From these films 1,900,000 cards have been typed for the Union Catalogue, and of these 1,560,000 cards have been filed. At the peak of activity in July, 173 W.P.A. workers were employed and four staff directors paid by the Union Library Catalogue Committee. The catalogue is now housed in the building of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Funds aggregating $16,000 were raised for the financing of the project in 1936, and funds aggregating $15,000 have been raised for the continuance of the project in 1937. All the catalogues of all the libraries in the Philadelphia metropolitan area deemed worthy of consideration have now been reproduced on films. It is anticipated that the work of typing, collating, and filing will be completed before the end of the year 1937. Arrangements have not yet been made for the permanent housing and the continuing maintenance of the catalogue. It is to be noted that this is the first great regional catalogue of American libraries to be within sight of completion. In the course of its preparation many valuable contributions have been made to library technique. Mr. Vanderbilt, the Director of the project, is being called into consultation on analogous projects in progress, not only in America but also in Europe. Thanks are once again due to the Carnegie Corporation of New York, to the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, and to a number of private benefactors whose generous subventions have made this important contribution to the service of scholars in all fields of learning possible. Thanks are also once again due to the Philadelphia Commercial Museum and to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania for providing housing accommodations for the project while it is in progress.

Board of Trustees. The report of the Board is printed with the report of the Treasurer of the Association, already distributed. The net result of the year's management of the investments of the Association has been to

increase the value of the securities held by the Association from $217,656.67 to $243,176.97, an increase of 11.7 per cent, while the income from investments has decreased from $9111.25 to $9017.50, a decrease of 1 per cent.

PRIZES OFFERED BY THE ASSOCIATION. The two prizes available for award this year are the George Louis Beer Prize "for the best work upon any phase of European international history since 1895" and the Jusserand Medal awarded as occasion may arise for a published work of distinction upon "any phase of the intellectual relations between the United States and any other country". The chairmen of the committees appointed to award these prizes both report that they have made no award. In competition for the George Louis Beer Prize only one manuscript was submitted. The Beer Prize Committee suggests for the consideration of the Council that the conditions of the award be changed to read: "The George Louis Beer Prize is to be awarded for the best work upon any phase of the history of world affairs since 1890". The Chairman of the Committee interprets this as follows: "This would include studies in international relations and in the internal history of any country except the United States."

The Executive Committee at its meeting in August voted to re-establish the Justin Winsor Prize and the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize, to be awarded in alternate years beginning with the year 1937, the prizes to be $200 each. This action has been made possible by the efforts of Professor A. H. Lybyer of the University of Illinois, who secured pledges of contributions sufficient to finance these prizes for a period of five years. Up to December 8, 1936, $139 for this purpose had been paid into the treasury of the Association. Pledges aggregating $218 annually are on file.

THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE ASSOCIATION IN WASHINGTON. By reason of the removal of the offices of the *American Historical Review* from Washington, new headquarters of the Association have been established at 740 Fifteenth Street, N. W., resulting in a considerable saving of rental.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BRITISH HISTORY. The co-operation of the A.H.A. has been invited in the preparation of a bibliography of British history, 1715-1789, to form the third volume of a series of which a volume on Tudor history, edited by Conyers Read, and a volume on Stuart history, edited by Godfrey Davies, have already appeared under the joint auspices of the A.H.A. and the Royal Historical Society. Professor D. J. Medley, the editor of the proposed volume, has transmitted the manuscript of a large part of it for critical examination by competent American scholars. The Executive Secretary has secured the co-operation of a number of scholars, and criticisms have been received. The Executive Committee at its November meeting took the following action:

Upon motion the Executive Secretary was instructed to transmit these

criticisms to the Royal Historical Society and to indicate that the A.H.A. would be willing to pass further on such sections as might be submitted to it with regard to content and uniformity of form.

Northwest Territory Celebration. A request was laid before the Executive Committee at its November meeting from the Northwest Territory Celebration Commission that an advisory committee be appointed by the A.H.A. to assist in preparations for the celebration in question. The Executive Committee appointed an advisory committee consisting of the following members: Carl Wittke of Ohio, *Chairman,* Beverley Bond of Ohio, Randolph G. Adams of Michigan, Theodore C. Blegen of Minnesota, Logan Esarey of Indiana, Theodore C. Pease of Illinois, and Joseph Schafer of Wisconsin.

International Committee of Historical Sciences. This Committee met in Bucharest on April 13-16, 1936; a summary report of the proceedings is printed in the Committee's *Bulletin No. 30.* Unfortunately, neither of the American members of the Committee (W. E. Dodd, Waldo G. Leland) was able to attend. Three *Bulletins* have been published by the Committee in 1936: No. 30 contains "Analyses of the Principal Historical Works published in the Hungarian Language, 1926-1932"; No. 31 is devoted to a "World List of Historical Reviews", 2317 in number; No. 32 contains the "Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Historical Sciences, Warsaw, 1933".

The publication of two more volumes of the *International Bibliography of Historical Sciences* (No. 6 for 1931, and No. 8 for 1933) fills the last gap in the series and makes it possible now to be assured of publication of the annual volumes at regular intervals.

The Committee on Diplomatic History has published the first volume of its *Repertory of the Diplomatic Representatives of all Countries since the Peace of Westphalia, 1648,* which brings the record to 1715. This is one of the most important of the many enterprises that the subcommittees are carrying on; it has involved a vast amount of research in many countries and has enlisted the co-operation of a large number of scholars of different nationalities.

Membership Committee. The Membership Committee has continued its drive for members by organizing state committees under state chairmen and by conducting an extensive mail campaign. More than 2500 letters have gone out from the central office of the Committee in Detroit. The results of this campaign are probably not yet fully apparent. On December 9, 1936, the total membership of the A.H.A. was 3084, of which 524 were life memberships, 2211 individual annual memberships, and 349 memberships of institutions. The total paid membership, including life members, aggregated 2536, with 548 delinquent members. During the year 260 members were lost, 26 by death, 44 by resignation, and 190 dropped for delinquency. New

members aggregated 308, of which 285 were individuals and 23 institutions. The net gain in enrolled members was 48.

As compared with last year, the delinquents this year were 158 fewer; the loss of members was 60 more (the total increase being in the number of those dropped for delinquency); new members, 63 more. It will be apparent from these figures that the gain in effective membership is considerably greater than appears at first glance. The paid membership this year is, in fact, 206 more than last year. But we are not making the gains in membership we ought to make if we are to maintain our present program of activities. There are many, too many, delinquents, over 20 per cent of the total number of enrolled members. It is easy to surmise why this is so, but if it were not so we should have enough current revenue out of our present enrolled membership to maintain our present program of operations without fear of a deficit.

Finance Committee. The Finance Committee has submitted to the Council a detailed estimate of probable expenditures for the fiscal year beginning September 1, 1936, amounting to $26,127.63. This estimate covers all the expenses of the Association not provided for out of special funds. For the same period the Finance Committee estimates receipts aggregating $27,235.41. If these estimates are correct, then we may anticipate that the Association will find itself with a balance of a little over $1000 in the treasury at the close of the fiscal year (August 31, 1937). It ought to be pointed out, however, that of the estimated receipts, $5685.41 represents a balance carried forward from the previous fiscal year. If we deduct this, it will appear that our current expenses for the present fiscal year will exceed our current revenues by over $4600. The prospect for the year following (1937-38) is somewhat brighter, but unless we can increase our receipts from membership or some other sources we shall probably reach the end of that fiscal year with an actual deficit of about $1300. It will be obvious that one of two things must happen: we must either increase our revenues or we must decrease our expenditures if we are to live within our income. It will be very unfortunate if we have to curtail our activities. We should plan rather to increase them. In point of fact, we have increased them considerably, but only by securing special gifts for special purposes. While these have not imposed an additional burden upon our ordinary budget, they have very considerably increased the work of the administrative offices. We must not curtail our activities, and we must provide adequate administrative machinery for directing them. If every member of the Association would go out and get one new member, our financial troubles would vanish quite away. If every delinquent member would pay his dues, we could face the end of the fiscal year 1938 with an easy heart.

Our other source of income is from our invested funds. As the report of the Board of Trustees shows, our investments during the current year

have increased in value over 11 per cent. But that report also shows that notwithstanding this increase, our income from investments has actually diminished a little. The explanation for this lies in the very low rate of interest yielded at present by gilt-edged securities. But the consequence is that our operating income from this source is low in proportion to our principal and may be lower as the Board of Trustees replaces the securities of higher yield and less safety by those of lower yield and greater safety. It is hardly likely that we can anticipate a much larger income than we now enjoy from our investments unless we increase those investments. The Association should contemplate seriously a definite concerted effort to enlarge its endowment.

CONYERS READ, *Executive Secretary.*

The Annual Report of the former Treasurer of the Association, Dr. Constantine E. McGuire, for the fiscal year 1935-1936 has been sent to the members of the Association.

THE OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR 1937

President, Guy Stanton Ford, University of Minnesota.

First Vice-President, Laurence M. Larson, University of Illinois.

Second Vice-President, Frederic L. Paxson, University of California, Berkeley.

Secretary, Dexter Perkins, University of Rochester.

Executive Secretary, Conyers Read, 226 South 16th St., Philadelphia.

Treasurer, Solon J. Buck, The National Archives, Washington, D. C.

Assistant Secretary-Treasurer, Patty W. Washington, 740 Fifteenth St., N. W., Washington, D. C.

Editor of the Annual Report, Lowell Joseph Ragatz, George Washington University.

Council: (ex officio) the president, vice-presidents, secretary, and treasurer; (former presidents) J. Franklin Jameson, Albert Bushnell Hart, Andrew C. McLaughlin, George L. Burr, Worthington C. Ford, Charles H. Haskins, Edward P. Cheyney, Charles M. Andrews, Henry Osborn Taylor, Evarts B. Greene, Carl Becker, Herbert E. Bolton, Charles A. Beard, William E. Dodd, Michael I. Rostovtzeff, Charles H. McIlwain; (elected members) R. D. W. Connor, Wallace Notestein, Dumas Malone, William L. Westermann, Bessie L. Pierce, Frederick Merk, Carl Wittke, Isaac J. Cox.

Executive Committee of the Council: Guy Stanton Ford, University of Minnesota, chairman; James P. Baxter, 3d, Carlton J. H. Hayes, Wallace Notestein; (ex officio) Solon J. Buck, Dexter Perkins.

Council Committee on Appointments: Frederick Merk, Harvard University, chairman; Bessie L. Pierce; (ex officio) Dexter Perkins, Conyers Read.

Board of Trustees: Thomas I. Parkinson, Equitable Life Assurance Society,

New York City, chairman; Raymond N. Ball, Guy Emerson, Jerome D. Greene, Stanton Griffis.

The Pacific Coast Branch: President, Joseph B. Lockey, University of California at Los Angeles; Vice-President, James Westfall Thompson, University of California, Berkeley, Secretary-Treasurer, Francis H. Herrick, Mills College; *Council,* the above officers and Dan E. Clark, Carl C. Eckhardt, Percy A. Martin, Vernon J. Puryear; Acting Managing Editor of the *Pacific Historical Review,* Louis Knott Koontz, University of California at Los Angeles.

Committee on Program for the Fifty-second Annual Meeting: Walton H. Hamilton, Yale University, chairman; John H. Wuorinen, Columbia University, secretary; others to be named.

Committee on Local Arrangements: Julian P. Boyd, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, secretary, with power to appoint his chairman and his associates.

Committee on Nominations: J. Fred Rippy, University of Chicago, chairman; Violet Barbour, M. E. Curti, A. C. Krey, Edgar E. Robinson.

The American Historical Review: Managing Editor, Robert Livingston Schuyler, 535 West 114th Street, New York City; Assistant Editor, Eleanor D. Smith; Board of Editors, Arthur E. R. Boak, William L. Langer, Dumas Malone, Nellie Neilson, J. Fred Rippy, Preserved Smith.

Social Education: Editor, Erling M. Hunt, 204 Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University; Assistant Editor, Katharine Elizabeth Crane; Executive Board, Erling M. Hunt, chairman; Conyers Read, secretary; Charles A. Beard, Phillips Bradley, Margaret A. Koch, E. George Payne, Donnal V. Smith, Ruth Wanger, (ex officio) Howard E. Wilson.

Committee on Membership: Raymond C. Miller, Wayne University, chairman; F. Lee Benns, Gray C. Boyce, Max Savelle, J. L. Sellers, Culver H. Smith, A. T. Volwiler.

Committee on Prizes: George Louis Beer Prize, Eugene N. Anderson, The American University, Washington, D. C., chairman; Rosa J. S. Hoffman, Dwight E. Lee; *John H. Dunning Prize,* Lester B. Shippee, University of Minnesota, chairman; Wendell H. Stephenson, Ella Lonn. *Herbert Baxter Adams Prize,* Albert H. Lybyer, University of Illinois, chairman; Leona C. Gabel, Walter C. Langsam; *Justin Winsor Prize,* James B. Hedges, Brown University, chairman; Charles S. Sydnor, Caroline F. Ware; *Jusserand Medal,* Carl Wittke, Ohio State University, chairman; Theodore C. Blegen, Eloise Ellery.

Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund for Publications: John D. Hicks, University of Wisconsin, chairman; Kent R. Greenfield, William E. Lunt, Asa E. Martin, Edward Whitney.

Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund: Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Arthur C. Cole, James G. Randall.

Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund: Francis S. Philbrick, Law School, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Charles M. Andrews, Carroll T. Bond, Richard B. Morris, Thomas I. Parkinson, Charles Warren.

Committee on Historical Source Material: T. R. Schellenberg, The National Archives, chairman; *Subcommittee on Public Archives,* A. R. Newsome, Robert C. Binkley, Francis S. Philbrick; *Subcommittee on Historical Manuscripts,* Julian P. Boyd, Theodore C. Blegen, Lester J. Cappon.

Conference of Historical Societies: Christopher B. Coleman, State Library and Historical Building, Indianapolis, secretary.

Committee on the Contents of the Annual Report: J. Franklin Jameson, Library of Congress, chairman, with power to select two associates.

Committee on Bibliography of American Travel: Frank Monaghan, Yale University, chairman; Julian P. Boyd, Harry M. Lydenberg.

Committee on Radio: Conyers Read, 226 South 16th St., Philadelphia, chairman; Evelyn Plummer Braun, Felix Greene, John A. Krout, Walter C. Langsam, Edward R. Murrow, Ralph S. Rounds, William Slater, Elizabeth Y. Webb.

Committee on Americana for College Libraries: Randolph G. Adams, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, chairman; William W. Bishop, J. Franklin Jameson, Leonard L. Mackall, Conyers Read, Kathryn L. Slagle, Lawrence C. Wroth.

Representatives of the Association in Allied Bodies: Social Science Research Council, Guy Stanton Ford, Roy F. Nichols, Arthur M. Schlesinger. *American Council of Learned Societies,* Edward P. Cheyney, W. S. Ferguson. *International Committee of Historical Sciences: Delegates,* Waldo G. Leland, William E. Dodd; *Subcommittee on Archives,* R. D. W. Connor; *Diplomatic History,* Samuel Flagg Bemis; *Chronology,* John L. La Monte; *Historical Iconography,* Leicester Holland; *Historical Geography,* Charles O. Paulin; *International Bibliography of Historical Sciences,* Waldo G. Leland.

The following should be added to the *List of Research Projects in History,* published as a supplement to Volume XXXIX, No. 3, of the *American Historical Review:*

I. General

France and the United States, 1789-1815. Prog. E. Wilson Lyon, *Colgate.*

A history of the Armenian people since 1800. A. O. Sarkissian, *Illinois.*

VII. France

A biography of François (Marquis de) Barbé-Marbois, 1745-1837. Prog. E. Wilson Lyon, *Colgate.*

VIII. Germany
Bibliography of Bismarck literature. Prog. Gordon W. Prange, *Iowa,* with Herbert Michaelis, Berlin.

IX. Great Britain and Ireland
(b) Since 1485
The Anglican Church and "Comprehension" during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Prog. Ethyn W. Kirby, Providence, R. I.

XVIII. United States of America
(8) Since 1782
Biography of William L. Wilson. Prog. Festus P. Summers, *West Virginia.*

The Justin Winsor Prize in American History will be awarded this year. Particulars may be obtained from Professor James B. Hedges of Brown University, chairman of the Justin Winsor Prize Committee.

OTHER HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

There came into existence at the Providence meeting of the American Historical Association a society which will, no doubt, develop in close relations with the Association. A conference of archivists on December 29 approved the report of a committee which had been appointed by authority of a conference held at Chattanooga on December 30, 1935, to make plans for an organization of American archivists, and The Society of American Archivists was established. Its object is "to promote sound principles of archival economy and to facilitate co-operation among archivists and archival agencies". Individual membership is "restricted to those who are or have been engaged in the custody or administration of archives or historical manuscripts or who, because of special experience or other qualifications, are recognized as competent in archival economy". Institutional membership is "restricted to institutions or agencies that have the custody of archives or historical manuscripts". The following officers were elected: president, A. R. Newsome; vice-president, Margaret C. Norton; secretary, Philip C. Brooks; treasurer, Julian P. Boyd. Five members were elected to the council: Theodore C. Blegen, Victor H. Paltsits, Solon J. Buck, Ruth Blair, and Lawrence C. Wroth. The constitution of the society provides for the election by the council of an editor to supervise publications of the society and the publication, when funds are available, of a yearbook, quarterly magazine, or other serial journal. The council, at a meeting on December 30, elected to membership 125 individual and three institutional applicants. Further applications will be welcomed and should be addressed to the secretary, Box 1425, Washington, D. C. Dues for individual members are five dollars a year, for institutional members ten dollars a year, and for life members one hundred dollars.

A new edition of the Channing, Hart, and Turner *Guide to the Study and Reading of American History* (1912) is being prepared by Professors James P. Baxter, 3d, Frederick Merk, Samuel E. Morison, and Arthur M. Schlesinger.

The Transylvania Company, founded at Hillsborough, N. C., in 1775, is the subject of two pamphlets that have recently appeared. One is an address by Professor Archibald Henderson, a descendant of Richard Henderson who was president of the company, and is entitled *The Significance of the Transylvania Company in American History*. The other pamphlet is an account of the Transylvania Bicentennial celebration of 1935.

Oxoniensia is the new annual of the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society (not to be confused with the Oxford Historical Society, which has already published one hundred volumes of Collections). Volume I (1936) contains 222 pages. There are well-illustrated articles on local antiquities, documents, and book reviews. Libraries may subscribe for *Oxoniensia* for 15*s*.; individuals may receive it on the same terms, plus an entrance fee of 5*s*. to the society. The Secretary may be addressed at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

The first number of a new semi-official publication, *The Information Bulletin*, was published on May 11. The periodical appears three times a month, is issued by the Council of International Affairs, Nanking, and costs $3.00 a year (Chinese currency). Each number is devoted to a single subject, such as "Hirota's Three Principles *vis-à-vis* China" and "Currency Reform in China". There is usually a brief historical introduction to the subject under discussion, and sources are frequently cited.

The December meeting of the Société d'histoire moderne was devoted to a discussion of prices and wages in France during the eighteenth century. Professor Georges Lefebvre presented a summary of the recent works of the late François Simiand and of Charles Labrousse on the subject. The contributions of these two scholars to the economic history of the Old Regime and the Revolution are undoubtedly among the more important that have been made since Loutchisky completed his analysis of land holdings prior to 1789. A résumé of the meeting is to be found in the *Bulletin* of the Société for December. The Société announces that its third session of Franco-Italian studies will be held in Paris at the end of September. The subjects of the meeting will be "Les rapports entre les milieux érudits et artistiques de France et d'Italie aux XVII^e^ et XVIII^e^ siècles" and "La France et l'Italie de 1789 à 1815".

The American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, in association with the Linguistic Institute of America, is offering from June 28 to August 21, at the University of Michigan, an eight-weeks intensive course in read-

ing modern Chinese. The course will be open to graduate students only. Instruction will be given by Dr. George A. Kennedy of Yale University. Specially prepared materials and a new teaching method will be used. Further information may be obtained from Miss Ruth Earnshaw, American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, 129 East 52d Street, New York City.

For a period of ten weeks, from June 21 to August 27, the University of California will conduct intensive instruction in the Russian language—one course for beginners and one for persons with some knowledge of Russian. This work is offered by the university in co-operation with the Institute of Pacific Relations. The Summer Sessions Office of the university is prepared to furnish detailed information upon request.

Queen's University Summer School of Historical Research at the Public Archives of Canada will open on July 6 and last for six weeks. It will be directed by Professor Reginald G. Trotter, head of the Department of History at Queen's. Its activities will include a round table on Canadian history since the War of 1812 and personal consultation with individual students.

PERSONAL

On December 1 Sir Arthur George Doughty, Dominion Archivist Emeritus, died at Ottawa. He was born on March 22, 1860, at Maidenhead, Berks, England and came to Canada in 1886. After a career in journalism and the civil service of the Province of Quebec, he was appointed Joint Librarian (with Dr. N. E. Dionne, noted historian and bibliographer) of the Legislative Library of Quebec, in which position he remained until 1904, when he assumed the duties of Dominion Archivist at Ottawa. In 1908 Dr. Doughty was made a member of the Historical Manuscripts Commission of Canada; in 1912 he was raised to the rank of Deputy Minister; and in the same year he was appointed to a royal commission which conducted an inquiry into the state of the records of the Dominion government. Dr. Doughty was associated with a number of important extra-departmental activities. He was president of the Canadian Historical Association, 1927-1928, and has been vice-president of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association since 1934. Dr. Doughty's numerous historical works covered an extensive range. They included *The Siege of Quebec* (in collaboration with G. W. Parmelee, 6 vols., 1901) and *The Acadian Exiles* (in Chronicles of Canada). He edited, among other works, *Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759-91* (in collaboration with Adam Shortt), *Documents on the Constitutional History of Canada, 1791-1818* (in collaboration with Duncan McArthur), *Documents on the Constitutional History of Canada, 1819-28* (in collaboration with Norah

Story), and *Canada and Its Provinces* (22 vols., in collaboration with Adam Shortt).

At the time of his death on December 8 Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer had just completed the fifth and concluding volume of his *History of the United States since the Civil War,* which has recently been published. Graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1889, Oberholtzer joined the *Philadelphia Evening Telegraph* and served that newspaper for several years as associate editor and foreign correspondent. In 1893 he received the degree of doctor of philosophy from his alma mater; his dissertation, *The Referendum in America,* attracted considerable attention. From 1896 to 1900 he was editor of the *Manufacturer* and later was literary editor of the *Philadelphia Times* and the *Public Ledger.* He was editor of the American Crisis Biographies and contributed biographies of Lincoln and Clay to that series. His other published writings include biographies of Robert Morris and Jay Cooke and a history of Philadelphia. He will be remembered principally for his voluminous *History,* upon which he was engaged for more than twenty years.

Sir Frederick Pollock, who died on January 18, was one of the most eminent members of a great legal family—the eldest son of Sir William Frederick Pollock, queen's remembrancer, grandson of Sir Jonathan Frederick Pollock, lord chief baron of the exchequer, and nephew of Sir Charles Edward Pollock, the last surviving baron of the exchequer. Sir Frederick was born in 1845, educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, called to the bar in 1871, made a privy councilor in 1911 and king's counsel in 1920. From 1883 to 1903 he was Corpus Professor of Jurisprudence at Oxford, from 1885 to 1919 editor of the *Law Quarterly Review,* from 1895 to his death editor of the *Law Reports,* after the death of Professor F. W. Maitland in 1906 literary director of the Selden Society with Sir Paul Vinogradoff, and since 1920 sole literary director. Most of his numerous writings are on legal subjects, and many of these have become standard works in their respective fields. In 1895 appeared the great *History of English Law to the Death of Edward I,* planned by Sir Frederick and Professor Maitland but written almost entirely by Maitland. *An Essay on Possession at the Common Law* (1888), written in collaboration with Sir Robert Wright, gives an indication of Pollock's knowledge and outlook, as do his notes to Maine's *Ancient Law,* his life of Spinoza, and many of his papers, some of which have been published in *Oxford Lectures and Other Discourses* (1890) and *Essays in the Law* (1922). He was deeply interested in the United States, especially our legal education. He had many friends here and often visited this country. In 1904 he published, under the title *The Expansion of the Common Law,* the substance of lectures delivered in American law schools in 1895 and 1903, and in 1912 he gave the Carpentier

Lectures at Columbia University on *The Genius of the Common Law*. In the preface to his *First Book of Jurisprudence* he said: "Among the authors of past generations I owe most, so far as I can judge, to Savigny; among recent and living ones to Maine, Ihering, and my friend Mr. Justice Holmes of Massachusetts."

The foremost living Czech historian, Josef Pekař, died in Prague on January 23 at the age of sixty-seven. He had been a professor at the University of Prague since 1905 and was editor of the *Český Časopis Historický*, the principal Czech historical journal. Several of his many books are outstanding contributions to historical scholarship, notably *Valdštejn* (1933-1934), a monumental work dealing with the four critical years of Wallenstein's life, and *Žižka a jeho doba* (4 vols., 1927-1933), which treats of the Hussite wars. Concerning himself chiefly with the critical periods of Czech history, he had a deep influence on Czechoslovak national life, and he trained a whole generation of Czech historical scholars. The results of his learning were presented in a masterly prose style.

Spenser Wilkinson died at Oxford on January 31 at the age of 83. His interest in military history was awakened while he was an undergraduate at Merton College. In 1882 he was called upon to contribute special articles on the Egyptian campaign to the *Manchester Guardian* and later joined this paper as special correspondent and editorial writer. In 1892 he joined the staff of the *Morning Post* in London and continued with the *Post* until 1914. In 1909 he was appointed Chichele Professor of Military History at Oxford and retained this chair until 1923. By and large, Wilkinson's studies in military history were directed to the practical aim of improving the British army. He was essentially a reformer and steadfastly refused to be drawn into organized efforts for the mere increase of military appropriations. As a reformer, he was from the first actively interested in developing the general staff system in both the army and navy. *The Brain of an Army*, published in 1890, made the German staff system much more widely known and understood in England and was perhaps his most influential work. Wilkinson came on the scene when a serious effort was being made inside the army to improve the professional education of officers. His work was a substantial contribution to this effort and played no small part in setting the intellectual tone of the British staff schools. He was unpedantic, practical and realistic rather than theoretical or dogmatic, and singularly free from the common habit of giving military studies the guise of professional mysteries.

A volume of essays in honor of Professor Jernegan was presented to him by Professor Julius W. Pratt at the University of Chicago breakfast held during the Providence meeting of the American Historical Association. It is entitled *Marcus W. Jernegan Essays in American Historiography* and

is to be published during the current year by the University of Chicago Press.

The gold medal of the National Institute of Arts and Letters for history and biography was awarded to Charles McLean Andrews at the annual meeting of the institute on January 20.

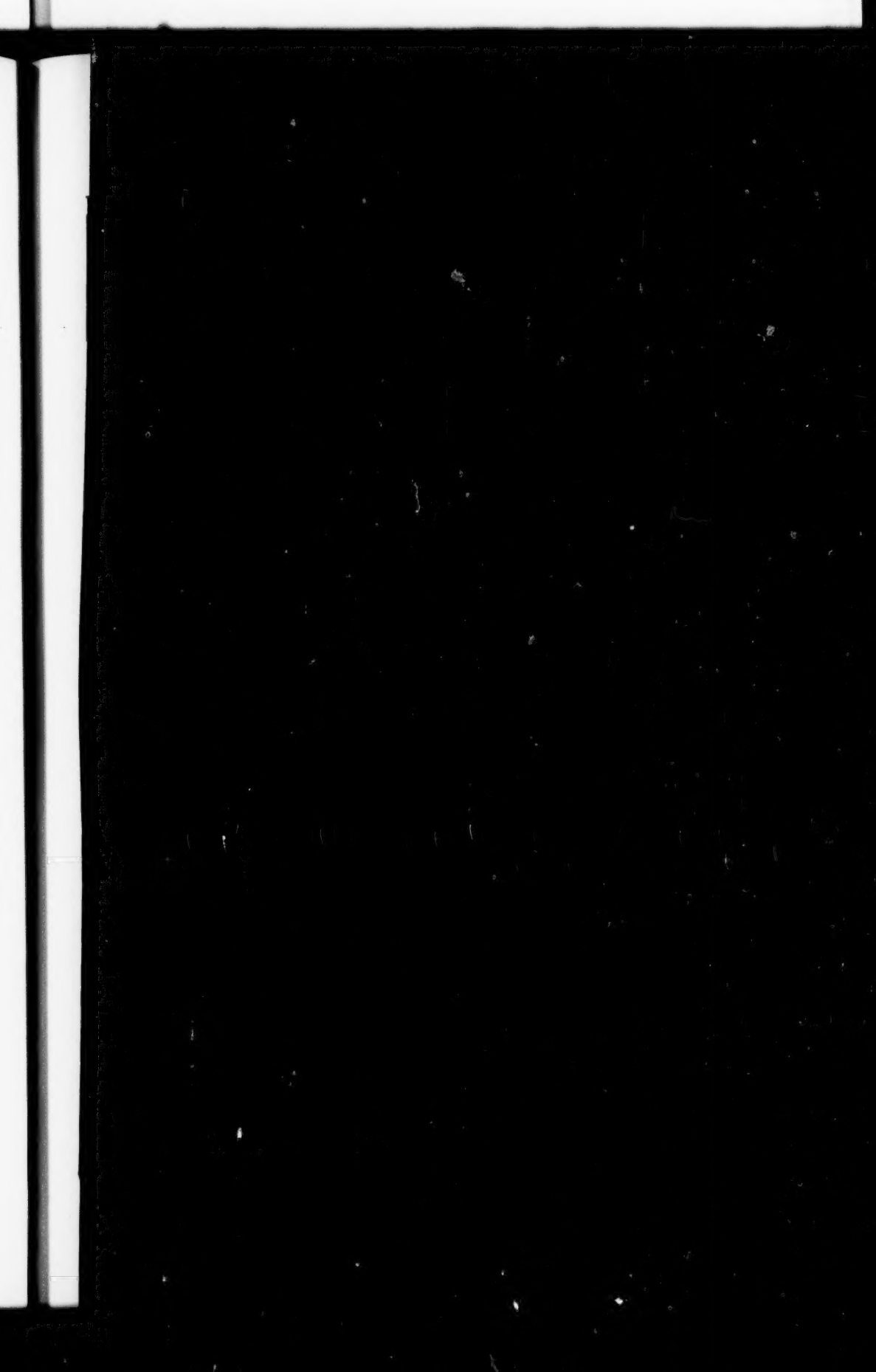
Professor Charles Seymour, provost of Yale, was elected president of the university on February 13. For many years Professor Seymour has been a contributor to the *American Historical Review* and for the past six years has been a member of its board of editors.

Professor Dexter Perkins, secretary of the American Historical Association, delivered a series of public lectures at University College, London, in February and March on Latin America in the History of Anglo-American Relations.

Professor David S. Muzzey of Columbia University, who is on sabbatical leave during this semester, lectured under the auspices of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace at the Collège de France in February and March on the foreign and domestic problems of the United States since the World War. He also visited five British universities, at each of which he gave a series of three lectures on the United States in the World War and phases of the New Deal. He is now lecturing at Prague under the auspices of the American Institute of Czechoslovakia.

Verne E. Chatelain, who has been connected for the past five years with the National Park Service as chief historian and deputy assistant director, has resigned to accept a position as research associate with the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

Notice has been received of the following promotions and appointments in history effective for the current academic year: promotion of John Hall Stewart of Western Reserve to an assistant professorship and of Francis J. Bowman of the State College of Washington to an associate professorship; appointment of Paul W. Gates and Philip E. Mosely as assistant professors at Cornell and of Fulmer Mood to give a seminar in American colonial history at Harvard.

Benedetto Croce's masterly essay on history as thought and as action, listed on page 580 of this journal, will form part of a forthcoming volume on history and historiography.

Announcement has been made in the *Berliner Monatshefte*, December, 1936, of the retirement of Dr. Alfred von Wegerer as editor of that magazine.